TEXTUAL CULTURES

Texts, Contexts, Interpretation

11:1–2

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Bohemian Bureaucrat

Making Sense of Walt Whitman's Scribal Documents

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Abstract

The essay presented here served as the presidential address at the Society for Textual Scholarship conference held at the University of Maryland, College Park, June 1, 2017. It considers the implications for editing and criticism of Walt Whitman of the fairly recent discovery of approximately 3,000 documents in his handwriting produced when he was clerk in the Attorney General's Office. For the most part, I have retained the tone and relative informality of a spoken presentation; I have also retained references to topical events.

SEVERAL YEARS AGO, I WAS FORTUNATE TO BE ABLE TO ANNOUNCE the discovery of 3,000 previously unidentified documents inscribed by the hand of Walt Whitman. These documents, from his time as a clerk in the Attorney General's office, treat everything from routine office requests to disputes over the railroads claiming western lands; conflicts with Native Americans; plural marriage in the Utah territory; controversies over the disenfranchisement of people who had taken up arms against the federal government; the rise of the Ku Klux Klan; black voting rights; international incidents, and much else. I didn't know what people would make of these documents. The documents themselves were not a discovery: they were known records housed right where they should have been in the historical files of the Department of Justice, a governmental unit still much in the news. The breakthrough was in the recognition of the handwriting. The size of the discovery was also remarkable, but did the content have much significance? The words were associated with Whitman because of his handwriting, but were they his thoughts and ideas, were they *his* in any meaningful way? The story of the discovery was covered in outlets from Australia to Azerbaijan, from Cuba to India, underlining Whitman's international stature, but it didn't probe these thornier issues. I suspect that the scribal documents appealed to journalists because they highlighted something odd: Whitman, widely known as a free thinker, a sex radical, a bohe-

mian, was a bureaucrat. In contrast to the immediate outpouring of news stories, the critical response has been muted, with little being done thus far by critics and biographers with this discovery. I want to reflect on the editorial and critical challenges caused by the inseparability of Whitman the copyist and Whitman the creator. These documents are also thought provoking for our work as scholars, as textual editors, as organizers and transmitters of information, and as people interested in the complex interplay of government and the arts.

How did Whitman end up inscribing so many government documents? After years of living in New York, the poet hurried to Fredericksburg, Virginia, in December 1862 when he learned that his brother George had been wounded in the Civil War. Once assured that his brother was not badly hurt, he helped wounded soldiers travel to Washington hospitals for treatment. He found it rewarding to help hungry, cold, and suffering men: accordingly, he spent the remainder of the war as an attentive visitor to thousands of northern and southern soldiers in dozens of Washington hospitals. Having unexpectedly moved to the capital, he needed to support himself and his hospital work where he supplied soldiers with food, money, stationery, tobacco, and love. Fortunately, he found low-level government jobs working as a clerk, first in the Army Paymaster's office, then in the Bureau of Indian affairs, and finally in the Attorney General's Office from 1865–1873.

I have looked for traces of Whitman in all of these offices, though it is only in the records of the Attorney General's Office that I've been able to find any papers in Whitman's handwriting. Elsewhere I've encountered another type of scribal document, letters written by Whitman as a private citizen on behalf of soldiers who could not write for themselves for one reason or another—often, illiteracy, injury, or exhaustion. For example, he inscribed a love letter for an illiterate soldier, Nelson Jabo, to his wife, a year before Jabo died from Civil War wounds (Price and Budell 2012, 38). He also served as the scribe—and perhaps proxy author?—for a soldier who wished for "an officer's position in one of the Colored Regiments now forming in the District of Columbia" (Frayer). Taken together, these letters for soldiers and for the Attorney General, precisely because they are *not* what literary editors ordinarily treat, can be illuminating about our work as textual scholars. They put pressure on our methods and assumptions about authorship. They prompt questions about what we include and why. Where should we place the borders of an edition and where of a digital archive? When we attempt to edit the complete writings of an author or attempt a comprehensive archive, just how literally comprehensive do we mean to

be? Do we wish to treat all that was written or all that was authored? And are the distinctions between authorial and non-authorial always clear and vital?

As editors at the *Walt Whitman Archive*, in confronting the government documents, we needed to make choices. Should we treat this previously unknown material, or should we treat his more famous writings? Time is always limited, so we had to prioritize something. We concluded that Whitman's published poetry and prose was widely available in various editions, some with good annotations, so we altered our work plan in order to transcribe the newly identified documents and to publish them with accompanying digital images. We didn't annotate the documents—that is a huge task that remains to be done—but we wanted to share with others at the earliest possible time a new resource rather than keep it under wraps. We concluded that our treatment of known material would add only incrementally to knowledge and thus was less consequential than presenting previously unknown Whitman-associated documents.

The government documents make it impossible to avoid the question of authorship. It is unclear in any particular instance if the poet served as author or copyist or both. Fortunately, we do know something about how the office worked: Whitman explained to his late-in-life Boswellian friend Horace Traubel that he had been "put in charge of the Attorney General's letters". He further explained that "cases were put into my hands—small cases: the Attorney General could not attend to them all so passed some of them over to me to examine, report upon, sum up" (Traubel vol. 3, 156). Another remark made by Whitman about Henry Stanbery is revealing. Stanbery was the attorney general under President Andrew Johnson, before stepping down in order to defend Johnson during his impeachment. "I was the Attorney General's clerk there", he said, "and did a good deal of writing. [Stanbery] seemed to like my opinions, judgment. So a good part of my work was to spare *him* work—to go over the correspondence,—give him the juice, substance of affairs—avoiding all else" (Traubel vol. 6, 147). Evidently, Whitman's intellect and judgement were valued and his writing abilities recognized. It is not at all hard to imagine that he would, in attempting to "spare . . . work" for others, draft some letters or at least co-conceive them. That is to say, it is unlikely he was a Bartleby, a mere copyist, on all of these documents. However, even if we were to assume the absolute least about his involvement with their creation, we know that they all passed through his mind and his fingertips, thus raising for interpreters of Whitman the complicated question of how to supply the dots connecting these documents and what he expressed in his own voice in

his mid-career poetry and prose works such as "Democratic Vistas". With the government documents, no matter what we assume about his degree of authorial involvement, he was giving voice to the policies of the Attorney General's office, policies that might or might not align with his personally held opinions.

On first consideration, one might conclude that there is a sharp distinction between Whitman's writing here as a clerk in an overtly collaborative work environment and his solitary creative efforts. However, the distinction between collaborative and independent work is hardly as clear as might be thought. I would argue that the monumental twentieth century edition, *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, despite all its great accomplishments, ultimately distorted the nature of Whitman as a writer through its insistent focus on the solitary creator and its search for the authoritative text. In his non-governmental role as a writer, Whitman was regularly collaborative and often anonymous: in his correspondence, interviews, journalism, marginalia, and in his unacknowledged contributions to criticism of himself, in reviews, articles, and books, we see repeated collaborative efforts. Even his plagiarism, or if you prefer, his artful reworking of everything from scientific treatises to newspaper stories in the service of "found poetry", can be seen as multi-authored efforts (Schöberlein 2012, 57–77; Barrett 1999, 6–17). In addition, he was a book maker in every sense of the word, and thus highly conscious of the importance of printers and designers. He collaborated with printers sometimes to achieve startling effects, as with the sexually suggestive lettering of the title of page of *Leaves of Grass* in 1860 (Folsom, "'A Spirit'" 2010, 585–600). In short, a tight focus on Whitman as a solitary creator serves more to distort than to clarify. The government documents are a dramatic illustration of the limitations we inherit if we adhere too tightly to a single-author model of editing. Not only does a single-author approach leave us without a useful way of thinking about or valuing these documents — a lack that may help to account for the reticence of critics in relation to them — but it also may conceal overlaps between Whitman's government inscription and his literary production. Too much preoccupation with a single-author model may reinforce artificial boundaries between "literature" and "government bureaucracy" that have make it difficult for insights from each to penetrate the world of the other to this day.

Until recently scholars didn't think of Whitman's work as emerging from a network, though the efforts of Ed Whitley and others at the Vault at Pfaff's have begun to change this (Whitley 2017, 287–306). Those studying the bohemians at Pfaff's beer hall in New York have shown that Whit-

man during a key period of his career in the late 1850s and early 1860s, was indebted for ideas, publicity, and comradeship to writers that included Henry Clapp, Ada Clare, William Winter, Edmund Clarence Stedman and a host of others. What hasn't been appreciated by critics and biographers is that when Whitman moved from New York to Washington, he developed a new network made up of clerks and other government workers. This new network of sustaining friends and intellectual companions included William Douglas O'Connor, author of *The Good Gray Poet,* and the naturalist John Burroughs, who wrote numerous studies of Whitman. The long list of federal employees in his Washington network included Julius Bing, Joseph Marvin, and Charles Eldridge, to name a few. All of these people, like his earlier bohemian friends, were or had been writers, editors, or publishers. They suggested topics for poems to him while other federal workers provided statistical and demographic information undergirding his writings.

It is no doubt because of the rich exchanges Whitman had with those in his Washington network that he often spoke favorably about his work in the Attorney General's office, a result that could not have been foreseen in light of his earlier comments. In 1856, in an article published in *Life Illustrated*, he had spoken disparagingly about clerks:

> —a slender and round-shouldered generation . . . trig and prim . . . [with] hair all soaked and "slickery" with sickening oils. Creatures of smart appearance, when dressed up; . . . how ridiculously would their natty demeanor appear if suddenly they could all be stript naked! ("Broadway", 116).

Prior to actually becoming a clerk himself Whitman held in contempt foppish clerks befouled in perfume and hair oils. At the time of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, he thought clerks were beyond the pale. In number 13 of "Chants Democratic" he declared: "There shall be no subject but it shall be treated with reference to the ensemble of the world, and the compact truth of the world—And no coward or copyist shall be allowed" (Whitman, *Leaves* [1860], 185).

And yet a clerk is what he became. As a clerk, Whitman found himself acting as an amanuensis. Given Whitman's pride and self-celebration, it is intriguing to think about him in this role. The word amanuensis has its roots in two different structures of authority, one embodied, one textual: slavery and signatures. In ancient Rome, the word amanuensis applied to a slave within hand's reach, acting on any command; subsequently, it became applied to a trusted servant, typically a freedman, acting as a personal sec-

retary. The word can also refer to someone who signs a document on behalf of an authority. In his poetry, Whitman's protean sense of self briefly inhabits a slave's identity in "Song of Myself" and does the same more effectively in the draft manuscripts of "The Sleepers". Late in life, when describing his hospital work to Horace Traubel, Whitman also thought in terms of slavery and servitude, male-male attachment, and the very roots of *Leaves of Grass*: "What did I get? Well—I got the boys, for one thing. . . . I gave myself for them: myself: I got the boys: then I got Leaves of Grass". His hospital work became his "lodestar", his "religion". It was his "master", and it "seized upon me, made me its servant, slave" (Traubel vol. 3, 581–82). This remark engages in a certain amount of retroactive mythmaking since Whitman wrote three editions of *Leaves of Grass* before his visits to Civil War hospitals began. Nonetheless, he underscores a connection between amanuensis work and *Leaves of Grass*, between bodies and writing, between submission and authority, that always existed for him but at no time more dramatically than when Whitman the scrivener worked in Washington offices.

As a clerk, was Whitman tamed, muted, constrained by the government, with the self-described poet of democracy kneeling, paradoxically, within a hierarchical order? Many documents Whitman inscribed close with a ritualistic and obsequious declaration: "your obedient servant". This was a convention, of course, but inscribing such a closing repeatedly must have had some effect on the inscriber. Even if Whitman the scribe told himself he wasn't speaking for himself, it is doubtful he could keep his roles as poet of democracy and dutiful clerk so compartmentalized as to prevent seepage. A remarkably decorous language appears in Whitman's letter to John Binckley, Assistant Attorney General, when the poet chose not to seek the position of Pardon clerk. Speaking for himself rather than as an employee, Whitman writes:

> In reference to the brief conversation between us a few days since, allow me in candor to say, that I should decidedly prefer to retain my present post as Record Clerk, the duties of which I feel that I can fulfil properly—& that I would therefore, as far as my personal choice is concerned, wish to be not thought of in view of the pardon clerkship.
>
> Only in case of urgent wish on your or [the Attorney General's] part, would I deem it my duty to waive the preference mentioned, & obey your commands. (*Correspondence* 2:24–25)

This can be seen as ordinary employee-employer correspondence. But it is also fascinating as written by a poet proud of his democratic standing: "I

cock my hat as I please indoors or out". The contextual situation is starkly different in these utterances, and that is important. A poet, especially an unconventional one like Whitman, risked losing his edginess within a bureaucracy. An unpublished pair of poetic lines, probably drafted around 1860 when he experimented with aphoristic poems called "Thoughts", clarify that even before he entered government work he recognized some peril in mixing public and private roles:

> What would it bring you to be elected and take your place in the capitol?
> I elect you to understand yourself; that is what all the offices in the
>   republic could not do.
> <div align="right">(Berg Collection, New York Public Library)</div>

Here "offices" undermine rather than advance self awareness. Going forward, we need a better grasp of how he coped with the demands of these years. How was he altered by working within the government, by embodying the government, by enacting policy and law through his pen?

Many of Whitman's friends, including William Douglas O'Connor, chafed in their roles as government employees. Whitman commented in a revealing fashion on O'Connor's plight.

> It is almost tragic to see a man endowed as he is so largely silent—so much of him just fired up and never expressed. A nobler genius never walked the earth. William has a world all his own—a potential world: I used to think he would some day give it birth: but the days pass, the years pass, by and bye William will pass, I am afraid, with the work undone. That damned job in Washington ties him down to a few feet of grass: I ought not to growl at it: it is splendid work: but somehow I resent it—just a little, anyway. (TRAUBEL vol. 1, 181).

The "few feet of grass" comment resonates coming as it does from the author of *Leaves of Grass*. Was Whitman speaking indirectly of his own resentment toward government work? Did he feel it had curtailed his own imaginative productions?

In "Success and the Pseudonymous Writer" Joyce Carol Oates writes: "Like the experience of first authorship, writing under a pseudonym gives one the sense of discovering oneself by way of redefining oneself, even if it is only for the space of a single book. There is the possibility, however quixotic, of making a fresh start—in . . . 'renewing' oneself—and not being held to severe account for it" (Oates). During the Civil War and

early Reconstruction Whitman "gained life experience as a ventriloquist of sorts—throwing his voice to become soldiers themselves as he wrote as and through them to their friends and loved ones, just as he regularly assumed the identity of others as he conducted his work as a government scribe. These experiences of inhabiting another's view—accelerated his developing tendency to write from the perspective of various personae" (Price 2010, 687). Whitman for example employs a dramatic speaker in several post-war poems including "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors", "Prayer of Columbus", and "Osceola". Intriguingly, Ed Folsom has considered the possibility of Whitman also speaking from the perspective of a black soldier in the somewhat earlier *Drum-Taps* poem "Reconciliation" (Folsom, "The Lost Black", 3–31).

Pinning down what Whitman thought can be tricky because his identities were as varied as his pseudonyms—"Schoolmaster", "Paumanok", "A Traveller", "A Pedestrian", "You Know Who", "Mose Velsor", "George Selwyn", "J.R.S." and "Velsor Brush" only begin the list. "Walt" was itself a tweaking of his name and a new identity taken on by Walter Whitman. Within his universe of shifting personae and tolerance for contradiction, where do we find Whitmanian stability? I think nearly all scholars would expect to find at bedrock a Whitman committed to a democratic manner of being and to adhesiveness or same-sex attachments. Yet Whitman's democratic manner came under pressure in his government work, and I want to speculate now about a possible connection between his government work and crises he endured over same-sex love in these years.

As noted, Whitman was engaged in trying on identities in the postwar years. When he moved to DC he needed to rebuild or create anew the emotional and intellectual network that had sustained him in New York City where his friends at Pfaff's beer cellar were key, among them Fred Vaughan, the likely love interest who triggered the writing of "Live Oak, with Moss", a sequence that ultimately developed into the "Calamus" poems in the third edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman's fond memories of his New York days come through in an 1863 letter to Nathaniel Bloom:

> dear friend, how long it is since we have seen each other, since those pleasant meetings & those hot spiced rums & suppers & our dear friends Gray & Chauncey, & Russell, & Fritschy too, (who for a while at first used to sit so silent,) & Perkins & our friend Raymond—how long it seems—how much I enjoyed it all. What a difference it is with me here—I tell you, Nat, my evenings are frequently spent in scenes that make a terrible difference—for I am still a hospital visitor, there has not

passed a day for months (or at least not more than two) that I have not been among the sick & wounded, either in hospitals or down in camp— occasionally here I spend the evenings in hospital—the experience is a profound one, beyond all else, & touches me personally, egotistically, in unprecedented ways—I mean the way often the amputated, sick, some- times dying soldiers cling & cleave to me as it were as a man overboard to a plank, & the perfect content they have if I will remain with them, sit on the side of the cot awhile, some youngsters often, & caress them &c.—It is delicious to be the object of so much love & reliance, & to do them such good, soothe & pacify torments of wounds &c—You will doubtless see in what I have said the reason I continue so long in this kind of life—. (WHITMAN, *Correspondence*, vol. 1, 142)

Importantly, the move to Washington, despite entailing a "terrible differ- ence", had not led to any lessening of his commitment to forms of attach- ment he describes as "delicious". This affirmation should be kept in mind in light of his puzzling and still under-explored crises over same-sex attach- ments in the Washington years.

The "delicious" comment about caring for—being needed by—soldiers is in striking contrast to an odd document I came upon in Whitman's papers at the Library of Congress. It is an anonymous letter to Attorney General James Speed of August 1865 accompanied by an envelope with Whitman's word "bogus?" written on it (Feinberg Collection). The letter is an attempt to influence a famous legal case. The letter, ostensibly from a Private in the 5th Pennsylvania Cavalry, argues that the hardships and disease suffered by captured Union soldiers at Andersonville, the notorious Confederate prisoner of war camp, was not a result of mistreatment but instead followed from the "unnatural and criminal practices of those worse than brute men. . . . *Sodomy* was the cause of their disgusting condition". The letter arrived at the Attorney General's office near the beginning of the trial of Captain Henry Wirz—the commandant of the Confederate prison at Andersonville, Georgia—who was arrested in May 1865 and became the only Confederate soldier to be charged with war crimes during the Civil War. A military tribunal found Captain Wirz guilty on all counts and sentenced him to death. We can't be sure why or how this document came into Whitman's personal possession rather than remaining in the office files. Nor can we know if this charge of sodomy against Union sol- diers unnerved him, though it might have been unsettling coming only two months after he had himself been run out of his job in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, just prior to his work in the Attorney General's office, by a
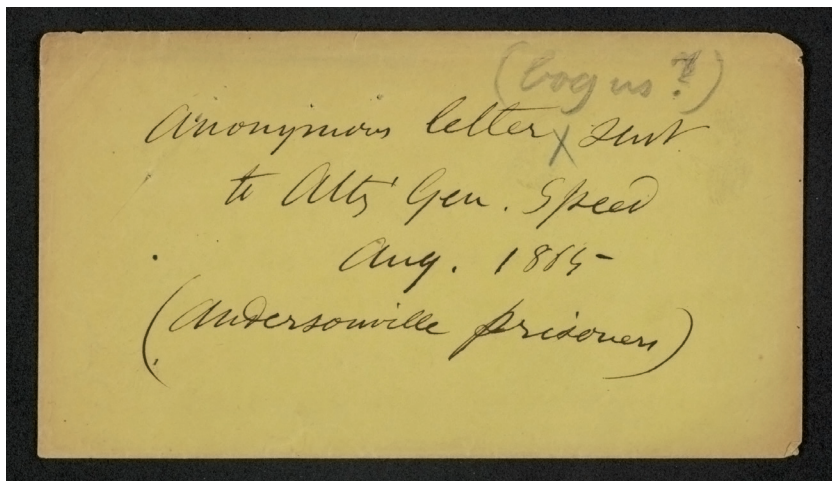
Figure 1. Envelope with Whitman's annotations. Courtesy of the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

zealous head of department, James Harlan, who disapproved of the "moral character" of Whitman's poetry of the body.

Harlan, head of the Department of Interior, and a former Methodist minister, had discovered Whitman's Blue Book, his personal copy of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, a copy in blue paper covers he kept with him during the war years, and extensively revised with annotations and tipped-in pages for an intended (but never realized) future edition of *Leaves of Grass*. The Blue Book reveals Whitman's plan to cut no fewer than eleven of the "Calamus" poems. This is one of the crises I mentioned: what pressure, loss of faith, change of heart could have moved Whitman to disown so many tender love poems? Ironically enough, near the time when he was cutting what modern readers find his most powerful poems on love and attachment, he was fired from his position in the Bureau of Indian Affairs for his amorous verse. The cuts then were made within two key contexts: 1) Whitman was enmeshed within officialdom, working for the government in one capacity or another and in a setting that put a premium on caution and decorum and 2) he was visiting Washington hospitals daily and thereby experiencing the beneficial nature of a healing and sustaining love, a love affirmed and reaffirmed not in hypothetical terms but in hundreds of visits to thousands of wounded, ill, and desperately needy soldiers. Having reversed himself on nearly one quarter of the "Calamus" poems, Whitman ultimately reversed his reversal by restoring all but three of the eleven
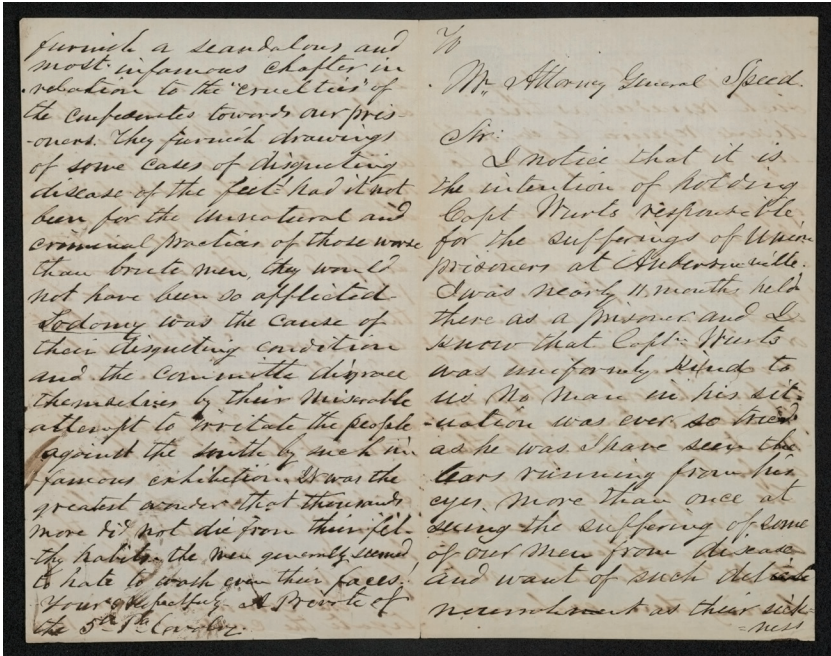
Figure 2. First and last sections of a multi-page letter ostensibly from a "Private of the 5th Pa. Cavalry". Courtesy of the Charles E. Feinberg Collection, the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

poems marked for deletion in the 1867 *Leaves of Grass*. The two contexts of his government work and his hospital volunteering pulled Whitman in conflicting directions.

Just as perplexing as Whitman's on-and-off affection for his "Calamus" poems in these years is what can be called for shorthand the Peter Doyle "perturbations" notebook. This is a famously coded document with the numbers 16 and 4 standing for the letters P and D, and a "him" in two places erased and changed to "her". This notebook was written at least partly and perhaps largely in the Attorney General's office. One temporal context explicitly noted by Whitman is Congress adjourning with excitement at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. Just below noting that fact, he exhorts himself to give up the "undignified pursuit" of Doyle. He does not specify what made the pursuit undignified—an asymmetry in their levels of interest and the differences in their ages are possibilities. He is apparently uneasy about what others might think of the same-sex nature of the attachment, given the effort to hide Doyle's name and the "him"
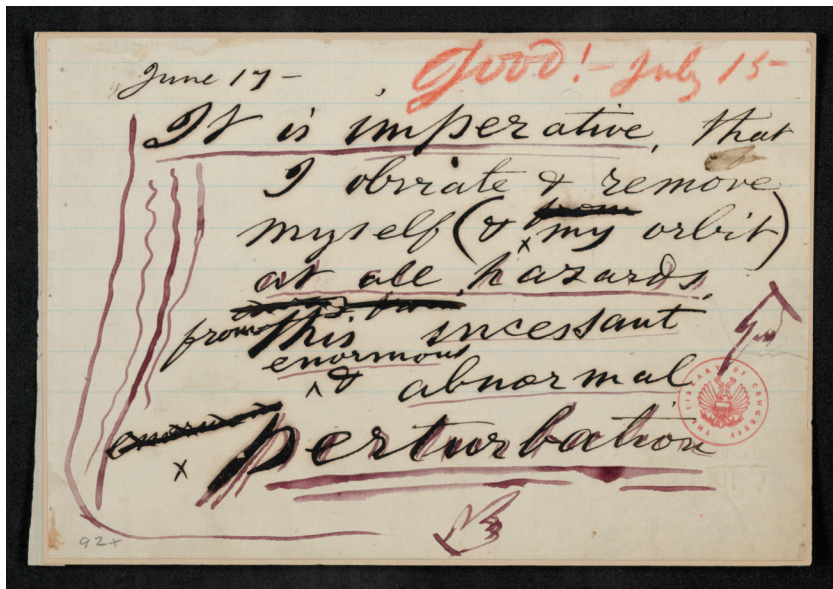
Figure 3. Inscribed and reinscribed page on "incessant enormous & abnormal perturbation", with underlinings, coloring, and manicules for emphasis. Courtesy of the Thomas Harned Collection, the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

to "her" alterations in the document. The dramatic coloring and unusual inscription/reinscription as he writes over his own words to etch it into the firmest of resolutions, is then reinforced further with a bold manicule— here the body, via the hand, and inscription, are one. He expresses concern about "disproportionate adhesiveness". He is interested, apparently, in what makes for a balanced and natural life that will lead to longevity, as the clippings nearby in the notebook suggest. He implores himself to "remember Fred Vaughan", a friend from Pfaff's, probably a former lover, and as mentioned quite possibly the inspiration for Whitman's famous "Calamus" poems. Intriguingly, a government seal, affixed at a later date and asserting the property rights of the Library of Congress, interjects itself after the fact with Whitman's thoughts of Doyle and memory of Vaughan. Whether the government would stamp as its own or try to stamp out a Whitmanian form of love continues to play out in our politics. In his own time, Whitman ultimately reaffirmed male-male attachments, though not without some anguish and doubts along the way, by retaining most of the "Calamus" poems and continuing in his love for Peter Doyle for years beyond this notebook. Perhaps most telling is the government stamp, reaffirming

the government's hold on Whitman as he was archived into the Library of Congress.

As critics and editors, we need to confront such traces of government and other institutional contexts, including the vast trove of scribal documents, in any effort to understand the latter half of Whitman's career, a career profoundly shaped in these years by his dual roles of bureaucrat and poet. This duality is often evident at the level of individual documents, many of which are personal statements but were composed on Attorney General's office stationery, on the verso of official business. In fact, it is at times difficult to differentiate personal and governmental documents. Whitman noted on an envelope of the Attorney General's Office:

> Memoranda
> pardon applicants Sept 8-9 -1865
> also the negro-suffrage
> also position of the President (Thomas B. Harned Collection, Library
>   of Congress)

Whitman might have jotted these notes in the course of work in the Attorney General's office. But it is also possible they are notes about issues Whitman weighed as he composed "Democratic Vistas". Whitman's use of a particular type of stationery, however, is not a reliable guide because he often used office stationery for his literary purposes. This document is of interest precisely because of its ambiguity: it might be either a literary or a scribal document, a document written for Whitman's own purposes or for the purposes of others. As such, the document challenges in a useful way the boundaries between literary and scribal documents.

In his office in the Treasury building Whitman enjoyed heated rooms at night and on the weekend, with a great lamp overhead, luxuries missing from the modest rooms he rented at various addresses around the capital. The census indicates that he lived in a mixed-race boarding house at one time, and he also came to know African Americans who cleaned up the office and ran messages. There were no African American or women clerks in the Attorney General's office, though white women began to break into some mostly white collar federal government jobs during the war years. The scribal documents touch on crucially important issues about race, gender and class, which Whitman experienced differently as a clerk than he had either in Brooklyn, or in the New York subculture at Pfaff's, or in Washington's hospitals. The Attorney General's office in those years did praiseworthy work in support of Civil Rights, though Whitman himself in

Democratic Vistas never convincingly answered Thomas Carlyle's charge that American democracy—in extending the franchise to black males—was doing something akin to shooting Niagara in a barrel. He promised to address Carlyle but never does so. In the Attorney General's office, Whitman was positioned to see in lived experience, in policy, and in changing laws the prospects for a new and vibrant multi-racial society. He and the office he worked for achieved much in these years, though there were also heartbreaking missed opportunities and failures of vision. Some of these misses and failings were Whitman's own, and they are especially painful given how much he had done to celebrate a diverse "nation of nations" in his pre-war poetry. Ultimately the best hopes for Reconstruction were of course dashed.

We've heard a lot about the Department of Justice in the current news with the recusal of Attorney General Jeff Sessions from the investigation into Russian meddling in the 2016 presidential election because he himself made false statements to Congress about his contacts with the Russian government; the rollback of Obama era sentencing guidelines for non-violent drug offenders; the crack down on sanctuary cities; the firing of FBI director James Comey; the appointment of a special counsel and more. I wonder what it must look like from the inside, and I wonder what a poet with a Whitmanian or Ginsbergian sense of things would conclude. Perhaps it is oddly comforting to glance back to the early days of the Department of Justice and to Whitman's role there. Whitman lived when the stability of the Republic didn't just *seem* to be at risk: the Republic was fragmented, battered, torn, divided, shredded. The events of 2017, thus far anyway, are alarming and grave, but the traumas, scandals, and corruption of the Civil War and Reconstruction were of a different magnitude. In recent months, we've seen recurrent violations of the rule of law and democratic norms; we've seen hatred encouraged and murderous violence has come to the very doorstep here in College Park with the killing of Richard Wilbur Collins, III. Whitman lived when armed rebellion exceeded anyone's expectations in its ferocity to become the bloodiest war in US history. No doubt many of us have been sickened recently by the sight of torches carried by white supremacists protesting the removal of Confederate statues in places from New Orleans to Charlottesville; Whitman worked in a government alarmed by the scourge of the Ku Klux Klan presence in the south and the inability of government forces, even with an occupying army, to contain violent lawlessness. We hear talk of impeachment or removal from office on other grounds. Andrew Johnson was not only impeached but came within a single vote of being convicted by the Senate and removed from office.

The Attorney General of course works for the President, and Whitman in turn worked for the Attorney General—positioning him in proximity to power. It is not clear that a Whitman-like figure would be welcome in today's Department of Justice, despite the way some in that Department have pushed back against the President.

I think of Whitman and his stern indictment of the United States at the time of *Democratic Vistas* (1871): "Never was there perhaps more hollowness at heart than at the present, and here in the United States. Genuine belief seems to have left us. The underlying beliefs of The States are not honestly believed in . . . . The spectacle is appalling. We live in an atmosphere of hypocrisy throughout" (Whitman, *Prose Works 1892*, vol. 2, 369–370). Shaped by both an artist's view and a bureaucrat's knowledge, Whitman had no illusions. He said of the word democracy that the "real gist" of it "still sleeps, quite unawakened . . . . It is a great word, whose history . . . remains unwritten because that history has yet to be enacted" (Whitman, *Prose Works 1892*, 2:393). Like democracy, justice itself—legal and social— is far from being at hand, and in fact is sadly receding. We need to keep faith, through vigilance and at times resistance, in the hallowed nature of goals threatened by hollow times.

Going forward we should strive to be more alive to the resonances, detectable in common processes and subject matter between things like books of poetry and things like government documents. If we look beyond authorship to think about media, inscription, and forms of association/ power, we can better understand the continuities and interrelatedness of Whitman's government work and *Leaves of Grass*. That may help us see poetry and governing as related rather than mutually exclusive things. In times as divisive as Whitman's and our own, perhaps it behooves us to re-examine commonplace distinctions—to get the poet back into the government, as it were, if not to explode the distinction between the two altogether. Singularity—of an individual subject, of a career, of a political party, of an author—no longer seems that useful, and may be one of the modes of simplification or patterns of thought that got us into our current fix.

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When Lovers Recount
their Own Stories

Assimilating Text and Image Units in the Prologue of the *Roman de la Poire,* ms. Paris BnF 2186[1]

Laine E. Doggett

Abstract

The prologue of the Roman de la Poire *includes speeches from the God of Love, the Goddess Fortune, the poet/narrator of the work, and several protagonists from twelfth-century texts. Ms Paris BnF 2186 (ms. A) includes nine full-page illuminations (very rare in romance) in the prologue that accompany the speeches, forming units of text and image. This article analyzes the speeches by Cligés, Tristan, and Pyramus with their accompanying illuminations. In the speeches, the lovers narrate their own stories (which they did not in the earlier versions), changing them so as to offer a new and substantially different version of a central episode from their narrative that emphasizes how lovers manage appearances, shape perceptions, and respond to various obstacles to love including slanderers and meddlesome courtiers. Comparisons between the* Poire *speeches and the twelfth-century texts reveal the extent of the changes and how they respond to the poet/narrator's fear of slanderers. An analysis of the illuminations shows that the illuminator highlighted specific details of the speeches so that through the power of visual representation, the paintings fix in the memory of an observer the lovers' responses to barriers to love. The images and texts work synergistically and have the potential to encourage any lover, including the romance protagonist, who expresses uncertainty and hesitation throughout the text about slanderers and difficulties. The* Poire *insists on the importance of memory, and the text and image units of the prologue of ms. A establish that importance from the first pages a reader encounters.*

The thirteenth-century *Roman de la Poire* has garnered only some attention, yet has aspects that invite a closer look, especially those of the prologue in the extensively decorated ms. Paris BnF fr 2186.[2] As Christiane Marchello-Nizia, the editor of the modern edition, has pointed out, the text does not follow generic conventions. Despite the word *romance* in the title, the *Poire* lacks the usual adventures or quests of a chivalrous knight. It focuses instead on tropes from troubadour and other love lyric, including a married lady of higher social status, a lover overtaken by the God of Love who beseeches the beloved to grant her love to him and who complains that the potential damages of envious liars and slanderers keep him from approaching the lady (Marchello-Nizia 1984, xvi–xviii). The body of the text contains lengthy and repetitive descriptions of the lover's travails and suffering caused by lovesickness (as described to an unnamed interlocutor), his interactions with the God of Love, Amors, and requests for help from characters such as Beauty, Courtesy, and Nobility, messengers sent from Amors, along with issues of loyalty, disloyalty and slander woven throughout.[3] The romance concludes with the lover presenting the *Roman de la Poire* to the lady so to impart his message to her, a nod to the envoy of troubadour poetry.[4] However, the prologue *also* ends with the presentation of the book to the lady. Although the two exchange hearts and the lady invites the suitor to read the book to her at the end of the work, events in the body of the text barely advance beyond where they stood at the end of the prologue.[5]

In contrast to the body of the text, the prologue of the *Poire* (some 280 verses), moves much faster and offers a number of perspectives, enhanced

2. The work is ascribed to Tibaut. Jung summarizes the debate around possible identifications of said "Tibaut", who remains entirely unknown (Jung 1971, 311).

3. Sylvia Huot considers the *Poire* in response to the *Roman de la Rose* of Guillaume de Lorris (Huot 1985, 95–111). Jung analyzes the function of allegory in the work including how it differs from the *Rose* (Jung 1971, 312–17).

4. For an analysis of the *Poire* and several other thirteenth-century romances that develop the topos of the literary work speaking for the Lover, see Danielle Quéruel, (Quéruel 1997, 33–48).

5. Critics have analyzed less-common features of the text and its literary and social context. Marchello-Nizia considers aspects such as the acrostics and musical refrains (Marchello-Nizia 1984, xxiv–xlvii). Huot shows how the *Poire* functions in the complex evolution from oral performance to written romance, focusing on the poetics of romance composition and how the *Poire* works "as a space in which to project performance" (Huot 1987, 189).

by rich images.[6] It alternates between the voice of the poet/narrator and a number of speeches by figures including the God of Love, the Goddess, Fortune, and well-known romance protagonists.[7] These are clearly indicated by the speaker who says, for example, "I am the god of Love" or "I am Tristan". I will analyze three speeches by a protagonist/lover from three twelfth-century works in light of those works: Cligés, from Chrétien de Troyes' eponymous romance; Tristan, as depicted in Béroul's *Roman de Tristan*; and Pyramus of the anonymous *Pyrame et Thisbé* along with the images that accompany them. In these *Poire* prologue speeches, the lovers narrate their own stories — unlike the recounting in the twelfth-century texts — changing them in the process, to offer a new and substantially different version of a central episode from their love story that emphasizes how lovers can manage appearances, shape perceptions, and respond to various obstacles to love. In ms. Paris BnF 2186, each of the speeches is preceded by a rare and beautiful full-page illumination. Medieval visual culture ascribes to images the capacity to fix the image in the mind of the reader. We will see that the illuminator read and carefully followed the speeches of the lovers, for the illuminations of the *Poire* prologue lock in a specific moment described in the speech that influences the viewer's understanding. The images and texts work synergistically to secure in the faculty of memory strategies a lover can apply to overcome slanderers and enemies of love for a reader and/or lover who perceives, processes, and assimilates the illuminations alongside the words the lovers speak. The combinations of text and image have the potential to encourage any lover, including the romance protagonist, who expresses uncertainty and hesitation throughout the text due to fear of slanderers.

6. There are a few other prefatory sections in the romance before the action begins (MARCHELLO-NIZIA 1984, x), with the result that various critics break the prologue into sections differently and also count the verses differently. One part describes the lover who observes the lady as she bites into a pear, the episode that inspires the title.

7. Helen Solterer argues that the speakers at the beginning of the poem are giving instruction to the lover who is attempting to master the discourse of women (SOLTERER 1995, 65). Huot contrasts the Poire's prologue speakers with the figures painted on the outside of the wall in the *Rose* and the beautiful dancers inside, noting that the *Poire* separates loyal lovers from the enemies of love (HUOT 1985, 97–98). She also considers how theatricality operates differently in the prologue and the main text (HUOT 1987, 177–82). Marchello-Nizia describes the text and image combinations as scenes (MARCHELLO-NIZIA 1984, xix).

The *Poire* and Related Manuscripts in Context

To mine the depths of how text and image interact on the page, we must recall concepts for engaging with medieval illuminations. Mary Carruthers reminds us that rather than ornamentation functioning as merely a pleasant addition to the manuscripts "the mnemonic role of book decoration was consciously assumed from the beginnings of the book in the West" (Carruthers 2008, 164).[8] Carruthers points out that the ancients held a similar view of the power of an image to help lock an idea into place; in addition, she quotes Albertus Magnus, who believes that when we only hear an idea, it remains unsure, but "but by seeing it was firmed up" (Carruthers 2008, 19). Carruthers shows then that for medieval consumers of learned culture, the image was intended to define a notion and secure it more precisely in the mind than could be done with words alone. In addition, Loomis and Loomis (and others after them) have pointed out that in the *Bestiare d'amors* or *Bestiary of Love*, by Richard di Fournival (a text roughly contemporaneous to the *Poire*) the prologue underscores the importance of both the ear and the eye for the reader who wants to take in the utmost (Loomis and Loomis 1938, 3).

There are two complete manuscripts of the *Roman de la Poire*–Paris BnF French 2186 (ms. A) and Paris BnF French 12786 (ms. B)–a third with a number of fragments, Paris BnF French 24431 (ms. C), and a fourth in a private collection that has only a single fragment, (ms. D) (Marchello-Nizia 1984, lxvi–lxx). Manuscript B only has blank spaces for historiated letters and a musical staff (and notes for the refrains in the text), none of which was executed. Manuscript A includes illuminations, numerous historiated letters, rubrification, and musical staffs; only the musical notes were never added (Marchello-Nizia 1984, lxvi–lxx).[9] The full-page illuminations are found only in the prologue, while the reminder of the manuscript includes other decorative features.[10] Marchello-Nizia dates the composition of the romance and ms. A to around 1250 (Marchello-

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8. Although Carruthers writes extensively about *memoria* as system of learning for monks, she nevertheless offers general precepts for engaging with medieval illuminations.
9. My study of the manuscript was funded through faculty development funds from St. Mary's College of Maryland. The full manuscript can be found at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105065252/f1.image.r=fr%202186
10. A study of the images as expressions of courtly love that contrasts the full-page illuminations and the historiated initials is Urbanski, 1999.

Nizia 1984, lxv).[11] M. Alison Stones traces the evolution of French secular manuscript decoration from its beginning around the middle of the thirteenth century, arguing for a date of ms. A to "at least a decade later than 1250" (Stones 1976, 97). She notes that the *Poire* stands out, as it is "lavishly illuminated" and "particularly sumptuous" (Stones 1976, 89). Because of the beauty of the manuscript, Stones opines that it was a presentation copy (Stones 1976, 89).[12]

Full-page illuminations are unusual for French secular literature (Stones 1976, 89, 92).[13] Moreover, the illuminations are rare for the works they illustrate. The Tristan scene with Mark is otherwise found only in German manuscripts and in embroideries, while the illumination of the *Cligés* episode is the only extant miniature of that romance (Loomis and Loomis 1938, 90; for *Cligés*: Stones 1993, 8).

Robert Branner's comprehensive study furnishes extensive detail on manuscript production in thirteenth-century Paris, dividing the manuscripts into numerous workshops (Branner 1977). By the second half of the thirteenth century, a "Parisian" style had come into being, and Branner documents how the different workshops depicted bodies, body parts, clothing (folds and draping), details of initials, and other pictorial features that separate one workshop from another (although a single workshop could have different branches within it) (Branner 1977, 97–141). Branner places the *Roman de la Poire* in the Bari workshop (named for a Gradual located in that city today), noting that "a Parisian atelier might receive commissions of all sorts, from lay patrons as well as from clerics and religious institutions" (Branner 1977, 102–07 esp. 103).

Such an intermixing of sacred and profane appears often in many types of manuscripts. Michael Camille, among others, cautions that the division we easily invoke between religious and secular never operated in medi-

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11. Hans Erich Keller argues that the prologue was added later by a different author, in the workshop where the full-page miniatures were made. He asserts that the three couples have nothing to do with the rest of the romance and he dates ms. 2186 later than Marcello-Nizia (Keller 1994, 213–214).
12. The lady and the lover wear the same heraldic device, but Stones states that no one has been able to identify the coat of arms (Stones 1976, 89). Marchello-Nizia searched other avenues and also turned up nothing (Marchello-Nizia 1984, xxix).
13. As a result, illuminations have been featured in art exhibits of manuscripts. See, for example, the exhibition catalogue *Art and the Courts*.

eval culture — although it is "a fact of modernity" (CAMILLE 2004, 377).[14] While rare in romance, full-page illuminations were commonly found in highly popular collections of psalms, or Psalters, the most favored devotional text throughout much of the thirteenth-century (BENNETT, 2004, 211–221). Ms. A has been called "a Psalter of Love" (LOOMIS AND LOOMIS 1938, 90) and exhibits stylistic similarities with Old Testament fragments in ms. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 381 and ms. Oxford, Bodlian Library, Psalter Douce 50 (STONES 1976, 91).[15] While an analysis of the complex interworkings of sacred and secular aspects in the illuminations is beyond the scope of this article, suffice it to say that the similarities with Psalter illumination and the popularity of Psalters at the time of ms. A suggest that these images, like those in a Psalter, are conducive to being assimilated for didactic and moral lessons from which accrete additional layers of meaning.

Overview of the Prologue and its Illuminations

The prologue opens on carta 1*r* with a historiated initial (the only one in the prologue) showing the poet/narrator kneeling before the lady. (See appendix A for a chart containing the layout of the illuminations and text as described here.) We turn the page to 1*v* and find the first full-page illumination, the God of Love, Amors, with the lovers below, and on the facing carta (2*r*), the speech by Amors. Next comes the goddess, Fortune, with her wheel, (illumination on 2*v* with her facing-page speech on 3*r*), followed by a range of depictions of lover and beloved. These figures include well-known literary couples such as Cligés and Fénice and Tristan and Iseut that are interspersed between illuminations of the *Poire* lover and his sweetheart in

14. Camille finds evidence of the influence of secular literature from genres including romance and fabliaux in Psalters. One example is CAMILLE 2004, 377–86. Sylvia Huot considers aspects of the sacred in the *Poire*, including the role of the pear tree in the work and the iconography of the God of Love depicted as a six-winged seraphim (HUOT 1987, 187).
15. Stones offers others examples of similarities between liturgical and profane manuscripts (STONES 1976, 90–92). Loomis and Loomis long ago indicated that ms. A is somewhat like two well-known Psalters of the thirteenth century, one of Blanche of Castille (ms. Paris Arsenal 1186) and a Psalter of St. Louis (ms. Paris BnF Lat 10525), but their analyses are cursory and without photographs of those manuscripts as seen in Branner and Stones (LOOMIS AND LOOMIS 1938, 90).

actions such as giving a ring and preparing for a tournament. The last full-page illumination contains the *Poire* lover offering the book to his beloved.

The prologue also contains a problematic illumination. Before the final painting in which the poet/narrator presents his book to his lady, we find a full-page illumination whose upper half depicts lovers in a boat and whose lower half portrays them on horseback before a city wall, identified by Marchello-Nizia as Paris and Helen. However, as she points out, a folio has been cut from ms. 2186 so that the manuscript now lacks the accompanying text on this couple, which she took from ms. B (Marchello-Nizia 1984, lxvii). If Marchello-Nizia is correct, the manuscript would have contained the folio at some point and the illumination could also be considered here, were it not for the fact that the twenty lines on Paris and Helen lack the structure found in the three speeches: these verses are almost entirely in the voice of a narrator, and only in the seventeenth line of twenty, does Pyramus say *je* and identify himself (Marchello-Nizia 1984, lviii; Huot 1985, 104). The fact that the poet/narrator retells most of the story may indicate that he is appropriating it for himself after having heard the speeches by the three figures beforehand. I turn now to the literary couples.

Cligés and Fenice

The reader turns the page from the goddess Fortune and her speech to find a bipartite full-page illumination of Cligés and Fenice.

> See https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105065252/f10.image.r=fr%20
> 2186
> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Française, ms. français 2186, carta. 3*v*: Cligés and Fenice

The upper drawing shows the lovers in conversation on a bench, touching each other, while the lower one depicts two doctors standing over Fenice who lies on a bier with her arms outstretched and her palms facing upwards. A physician has one hand under her neck and the other under her arm, along her ribs. A second one stands beside him, holding a phial from which a silver stream pours into Fenice's palm.[16]

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16. There are also two smaller quatrefoils whose most extreme lobe is cut off by the page boundary. Within each of these is the silhouette of the phoenix, a bird who

On the facing page, Cligés opens with "Je sui Cligés li amoreus, et vez ci m'amie Fenice", "I am Cligés the one in love, and see here my friend Fenice" (v. 61).[17] He explains that she has been wounded by Love's arrows, both painful and sweet (vv. 62–64) and notes: "Le diex d'Amors qui prent les amanz nos a pris", "The God of Love who takes lovers took us" (v. 65). These lines establish their love and their fealty to Amors as well as the similarity of their situation to that of the *Poire* lover and his lady.

Cligés then describes the doctors and their actions in an episode from Chrétien's romance:

> Li felon *traïtor* vers Amors mesprendront,
> de quoi, au chiés del tor, a tart se reprendront.
> Par *traïteurs* defaut, ce ne puet nus repondre,
> tote amor. Ne lur chaut fors des amanz confondre.
> Le plon firent tot chaut es mains Fenice fondre.
> Dieu pri de la en haut qu'en enfer les effondre.
> Ja es ciex la amont *mesdisant* ne meindra;
> ne croi que ja i mont, non, ja n'i ateindra.
> Damediex les semont, qui molt les contreindra;
> por l'anui que fet m'ont, de doleur les teindra" (vv. 71–80, emphasis mine)

> Cruel *traitors* will transgress against Love,
> and later they will be blamed for it, when they fall from the tower.
> For all love is found wanting by *traitors*, no one can refute this.
> They care for nothing except confounding lovers.
> They poured molten lead, very hot, into Fenice's hands.
> I pray to God above that he melt them in hell.
> No *bad mouth* will ever dwell in heaven above;
> I do not believe that one is up there; no, none will ever get there.
> God, who will hold them back, will reprimand them
> for the trouble that they caused me. He will make them blanch in pain
> (emphasis mine).

Before Cligés even states what happens, he twice names these actors *traitors* against Amors, and reminds us of their untimely end as a result of fall-

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returns to life from the ashes just as the heroine of *Cligés*, Fenice, (whose name derives from the phoenix) returns to life after her false death.

17. All quotes come from Tibaut, 1984 and all translations are mine.

ing from the tower.[18] In this short speech, they are only called traitors: the word *doctor* never appears. Cligés then explains how they strive to thwart love when they pour molten lead into the palms of the sleeping Fenice in an attempt to wake her. [19] This episode highlights their shocking and cruel actions and the suffering that Fenice must endure for love. Cligés opines that for this treatment they deserve to burn in hell, they will never be admitted to heaven, and that God will punish them for causing him trouble.

Having read Cligés' description in the *Poire*, we understand that the silver liquid in the picture is the molten lead that Cligés describes. Thus, the illuminator depicts the specific details that Cligés describes in his speech, and the physicians are shown in all their evil glory. They carry out a cruel, despicable act, an image that strengthens the case Cligés makes in the *Poire*, that the doctors are vicious and should be punished by God. The upper illumination therefore assures the observer of the loyalty of their love and the lower one depicts Fenice's false death—a complex means of spinning a story, if there ever was one.

How does the speech in the *Poire* differ from Chrétien's romance *Cligés*? The reader is immediately thrown far into the story, for in the short *Poire* speech, Cligés provides no context for this scene. The extenuating circumstances that resulted in the actions of the doctors in *Cligés* are not mentioned−neither the fact that Alis, the husband from whom Fenice is attempting to escape by faking her death, had promised never to marry (so that the throne would eventually revert to Cligés, its rightful heir), nor the fact that Fenice was married against her will.[20]

Further, in Chrétien's romance, the doctors contract a feudal alliance with Fenice's husband, Alis. This transpires when three heretofore unknown doctors arrive at court from Salerno. They hear the story of the current events, and then:

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18. For an analysis that considers the speech in the *Poire* and other intertextualities such as the pear tree with *Cligés*, see Mühlethaler (2013, 91–93). He also includes discussion of the sacred and profane.
19. In this case, the Salenitian doctors carry out no medical activities whatsoever, but instead torture the patient in their attempt to prove that she is in fact alive.
20. As Peggy McCracken notes, Cligès in the *Poire* also omits the end of their love story (McCracken 1998, 49).

Lors lor sovint de Salemon,
Que sa fame tant le haï
Que come morte le trahi (vv. 5802–04)[21]

The physicians then recalled Solomon, whose wife hated
him so much that she deceived him by feigning death
(158)[22]

Thus, here, the *doctors accuse Fenice* of betrayal. In the crowded room
where her corpse rests, one of the doctors manages to place his hands on
Fenice's chest and side in order to determine that she is still breathing. He
then promises that he will restore Fenice alive to Alis and that if he does
not, the Emperor can kill or hang him (vv. 5829–30). Alis responds that
"Se l'empererriz fet revivre, / Sor lui iert sire et comanderres" (vv. 5836–37),
"If he restored the empress to life, he would be lord and commander over
him" (159). Thus Alis contracts a feudal alliance with the physician from
Salerno if the doctor returns Fenice to him.

Continuing in Chrétien's romance, Alis clears the hall of all those
assembled so that the physicians can attempt to force Fenice to speak. In
this version, Cligés was not present for most of the episode and is barely
mentioned. Instead, a crowd of women who were observing the doctors
storm the room and toss them out of the window just as the physicians
prepare to ratchet up their torture by roasting Fenice on a spit. The head
doctor will go to any length to help Alis in the situation in order to honor
the feudal alliance he has made.

In summary then, in Chrétien's *Cligés*, the doctors provide the only
interpretation of the situation, according to which *Fenice* is the traitor. In
contrast, in the *Poire*, Cligés alone speaks, naming the doctors as traitors
to Amors, sovereign lord of love, while his effort and his and Fenice's suf-
fering in love are celebrated. In contrast to Chrétien's romance in which
the doctors respond to what they perceive as Fenice's treason, in the *Poire*,
Cligés offers a very different perspective on these events. Cligés names the
doctors "traïteurs" or traitors who transgress against Amors (v. 71) and *mes-
disants* or slanderers who impede love (v. 77). Cligés turns the tables when

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21. All quotes come from Chrétien de Troyes, ed. Alexandre MICHA, 1975.
22. All translations from Chrétien de Troyes 1990. Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner
    offers a trenchant analysis of Chrétien's appropriation of biblical, antique and
    romance sources (2008, 19–32).

he omits that they have accused Fenice of betrayal, while accusing *them* of treason. Cligés also prays to God that the doctors not be allowed in heaven, be burned in hell, and be punished for the pain that they have caused. The illumination crystallizes for the reader the brutal, treacherous behavior of the doctors that Fenice endures, locking it into the memory of the reader. In this case, Fenice's passivity enables her success: because she has been drugged and so does not feel pain, she is able to persevere. Through selective additions and omissions, Cligés manages appearances and foregrounds loyalty in love, while insisting that God will punish traitors in hell for these actions.

After Cligés's speech, we turn to find a full-page illumination showing, above, the *Poire* lover and his lady on a bench, as she places a ring in his hand and, below, the lovers embracing.[23] As with the previous paintings, it is accompanied by a twenty-line speech, this one from the *Poire* lover. He describes his attempts to win his lady: he sits beside her (v. 85), in spite of his enemies (v. 87), and notes that "m'a comme leaus fame cest anelet tranmis" (v. 88), "like a loyal lady, she gave me this ring". He is grateful for the ring, a traditional token of love, but nevertheless remains aware of the danger of the slanderers:

> Se medisanz ne puissent mençonges encuidier,
> qui les amorex cuisent et font de sens vuidier!
> Vers Amors ne me nuisent, je sai a souhaidier.
> Mes trop nos amenuisent fausse gent par pledier (vv. 93–96)

> If slanderers, who torment lovers and render them meaningless,
> are unable to dream up lies,
> they cannot harm me in the eyes of Love. I know this very well.
> But these false people's arguing wearies us so.

Although the slanderers of the *Roman de la Poire* are not as brutal or extreme as those described by Cligés in the *Poire*, the lover of the *Poire* understands how they stymie love by telling lies and making false cases. The *Poire* lover therefore echoes the ideas on true love and loyalty and

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23. Marie-Hélène Tesnière briefly analyzes those illuminations and text of the prologue that depict the lady with the lover in gestures of fealty such as the gift of the ring. Based on these, she describes the prologue as "a long oath of fidelity by the lover to his lady", (TESNIÈRE 1995, 67).

applies the lesson from Cligés's speech that the slanderers have the capacity to derail his plans for love, and that one must persevere in love in spite of them. Then the lover requests of his lady: "ne creez mesdisanz ne lor deleauté", (v. 98) "do not believe slanderers or their disloyalty". This brief assertion on the dangers of slanderers is followed by an intervention by none other than Tristan, perhaps the medieval lover *par excellence*.

Tristan and Iseut

The *Roman de la Poire* illumination of the Tristan episode has the same bipartite structure found in the two preceding images, one for *Cligés* (3*v*) and one for the poet/narrator and his lady (4*v*).

> See https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105065252/f14.image.r=fr%20 2186
> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Française, ms. français 2186, carta 5*v*: Tristan and Iseut

The painting at the top shows the lovers in conversation on a bench, touching each other, in poses similar to the lovers on benches in 3*v* (Cligés) and 4*v* (the poet/narrator). At the bottom, the lovers' eyes are closed, and they lean their heads on their hands; they are fully clothed with a sword between them. A strong ray of sunshine penetrates the foliage under which they sleep, and Mark holds up his glove to block it from reaching Iseut's face.

In the speech that opens on the facing page, Tristan introduces himself and his beloved, Iseut, and then describes their love:

> Tele amor ne vit hom com de nos estre seut.
> Cele amor a esté entre nos .II. veraie;
> c'est bone leauté, ne ge ja senté n'aie
> por quoi deslauté vers Yseut la Blonde aie.
> Suens sui sanz fausseté, et ele est tote moie (vv. 104–08)

> No man has ever seen a love such as the one we had grown used to.
> This love between the two of us was true;
> I had never before felt such good loyalty,
> [but] it is why there was disloyalty towards Iseut la Blonde.
> I am hers without falseness, and she is entirely mine.

Tristan claims a singular love apart from all others. He emphasizes that he and Iseut are model lovers: they share a reciprocal, true love and they show only loyalty to each other, never disloyalty. However, others are disloyal to Iseut for her actions. Like Cligés and the poet/narrator, Tristan also points out the challenges to love service that result from the slanderers: "Traïtre et losengier, qui molt font a blasmer, / devons nos estrangier: ge nes porroie amer" (vv. 117–18) "We should reject traitors and slanderers, who richly deserve blame; I could not love them". In this way, Tristan explains how lovers should respond to anyone who spreads gossip and rumors against love.

In his speech, Tristan recounts an episode that is pivotal for understanding their love story, the moment when King Mark, Iseut's husband, finds Tristan and Iseut in the forest, sleeping with a sword between them:

> Amant sanz nul pareill summes, de ce me vant.
> Bien en vit l'apareill li rois Mars, qui gisant
> nos trova el vert fueill, sus l'herbe verdoiant,
> quant le rai del soleill estoupa de son gant.
> Alez estoit chacier en la forest ramee,
> et ge, por solacier avec m'amie amee,
> avoie fet drecier ceste loge, et fermee,
> por ma dame enbracier, qui reïne est clamee.
> Seur nos vint, ce m'est vis, li rois, fust joie o dels,
> et ge m'espee mis gesir entre nos deus;
> *puis tornames noz vis ireuz et angoisseus.*
> Einsi, ce vos plevis, nos vit li rois toz seus.
> Grand joie en soi conçut li rois, n'en doutez mie,
> quant l'espee aperçut entre moi et m'amie,
> et dit *trop le deçut celui par sa voidie*
> *cui conseill il reçut par sa losangerie.*
> Li rois doz et plesanz ne se volt esmaier;
> sor noz faces luisanz vit le soleill raier:
> el trou qui n'ert pas granz ala son gant plaier,
> puis s'en torna joianz sanz plus de delaier" (vv. 141–60, emphasis mine)

We are lovers without equal, I brag of it.
King Mark, who saw the arrangement very well,
found us lying in the green leaves on the verdant grass,
when he blocked the ray of sun with his glove.
He had gone hunting in the dense forest,

and I, in order to take pleasure with my beloved friend,
had put up this shelter and enclosed it,
so as to embrace my lady, who is proclaimed a queen.
In my opinion, the king came upon us either in joy or sorrow,
and I had placed my sword to lie between the two of us;
then we turned our angry and anguished faces [toward him].
Like this, I swear to you, the king saw us, all alone.
The king felt great joy swell in himself, don't doubt it at all,
when he saw the sword between me and my friend,
and he said that *he had been totally deceived by the dishonesty of*
the one whose lying, gossipy counsel [the king] had taken.
The gentle and charming king did not want to frighten us;
he saw the sun shining on our faces:
he placed his folded glove in the hole that wasn't very big,
and, rejoicing, turned away without delay (emphasis mine).

In this intervention in the *Poire*, Tristan describes the events of Mark's interpretive dilemma upon finding the lovers asleep in the forest bower. Mark reacts with joy when he sees the sword between Tristan and Iseut. As a consequence, he places his glove to block a ray of sunlight that might disturb the sleepers. The illuminator painted the details that Tristan narrates, including the separated lovers appearing to sleep with the sword between them and Mark carefully placing the glove to prevent the ray of sun from shining on Iseut's face.

Tristan's explanation of events here differs greatly from that in the *Roman de Tristan* of Béroul (the only early romance version that still contains this episode in the Morrois Forest). [24] Béroul's *Tristan* is considerably longer with details not found in the *Poire*, including Mark's interactions with the forester who informed Mark of the couple's whereabouts (Béroul, 1989, vv. 1856–90). As we see in verses 155–56 above, in the *Poire*, Tristan does not name the individual, but identifies him as one who was dishonest and spoke injurious words.[25]

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24. Marchello-Nizia indicates a number of places where Tibaut differs from several Tristan versions including those of Béroul, Bédier's edition of Thomas, Gottfried of Strassburg, the Norse *Saga of Tristram and Isönd*, *Sir Tristrem*, and the *Folie d'Oxford*. She notes that the variations may come from Tibaut or from a lost version of Tristan. (Marchello-Nizia 1984, 132–33).

25. In Béroul's text, the narrator curses the forester and foreshadows his death in vv. 1916–20.

Continuing in Béroul's text, Mark enters the bower intending to kill Tristan and Iseut, but he stops short when he sees their state. He speaks his interpretation out loud:

> Bien puis croire, se je ai sens,
> Se il s'amasent folement,
> Ja n'i eüsent vestement,
> Entrë eus deus n'eüst espee,
> Autrement fust cest' asenblee (vv. 2006–10)

> It is reasonable to conclude that,
> if they loved each other sinfully,
> they would not be dressed,
> and there would not be a sword between them.
> They would be together in quite a different way![26]

Mark points out that they are clothed and that Tristan's sword lies between them. Béroul thus gives us not Tristan's but Mark's understanding of what he finds in the forest bower in contrast to the *Poire* where Tristan recounts the events from his perspective. In both versions, Mark's realization that the couple must be innocent leads him to spare their lives; he does no harm and then leaves. Tristan claims in verses 155–56 of the *Poire* that after Mark saw the sword and the clothed lovers and interprets these phenomena, he considers the information he had earlier received about Tristan and Iseut from an unnamed person to be lies (*voidie*) and slander (*losangerie*).[27] In contrast to the slanderer, Tristan says that King Mark is gentle and charming (v. 157).

Another crucial difference between the two versions is what the audience learns about how the scene comes about. In Béroul's work, Mark enters the bower, registers the vital details, and draws the conclusion we saw above; there is no mention of the placement of the sword or the arrangement of the sleepers. However, in the *Poire*, Tristan says he placed the sword between their bodies (vv. 149–50). In the following verse (151), Tristan explains that he and Iseut turned their angry and anguished faces toward Mark, or, in another possible translation, that they turned their

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26. All quotes and translations from this work from Béroul 1989.
27. Marchello-Nizia reads this as Mark repenting from having believed slander, an example of the *Poire*'s overall emphasis on slander (MARCHELLO-NIZIA 1984, 133).

faces *to* anger and anguish.[28] Tristan suggests not that they *were* angry and anguished, but that they wanted to appear that way to Mark. In other words, Tristan implies that he and Iseut carefully staged this scene; they managed appearances and influenced perceptions in order to shape Mark's reaction. Such an explanation never appears in Béroul's text.[29] In the *Poire*, therefore, Tristan admits openly that he manipulated Mark's interpretation of Tristan's relationship with Iseut in the service of love. Tristan states plainly that he built the forest bower to have a place to embrace Iseut. Thus he *is* betraying Mark: Tristan's allegiance is to Iseut and to Amors, and Tristan claims that God himself will side with the lovers.[30]

In the *Roman de la Poire* then Tristan provides his own interpretations of events and in so doing, substantially changes the love story to reveal how he worked around the slanderers and gossips and shaped the perceptions of King Mark to ward off Mark's anger and accusations and enable Tristan to continue to love Iseut. He clearly explains how he set the scene to give the impressions he wanted; he therefore proffers an excellent model for how to work around slanderers and counter their claims. The lower illumination cements in the memory of the reader who fully engages with it Mark's action of placing the glove to block the ray of sun, an action that results from Tristan having carefully arranged the details in the scene to give the appearance that he and Iseut are not treasonous lovers. It is worth noting that the twelfth-century versions of the narratives of Cligés and Tristan already depend heavily on the management of appearances and swaying opinion of those around them; in the *Poire*, the characters who speak build upon and enhance the actions that contribute to forming observers' perceptions, intensifying a central theme of the earlier texts. After Tristan's speech, the reader turns the page to Pyramus and Thisbe in a full-page illumination.

28. Béroul's text is utterly silent about sleep or the possibility of bluffing at the point when Mark is the bower, although they are said to be asleep much earlier when the forester finds them.

29. Béroul does say that Tristan placed his sword between the two of them some two thousand verses earlier, when Tristan returns from hunting and they lie down to sleep (vv. 1805–06). The text contains different perspectives from the narrator, the forester, and King Mark in this episode and so generates its own multiple ambiguities.

30. This seems to happen later in Béroul's text when Iseut goes unpunished for swearing an oath about Tristan that follows the letter of the law completely but mocks its spirit.

Pyramus and Thisbe

Unlike the other two illuminations we have examined, the bipartite image with Pyramus and Thisbe does not include the lovers seated on a bench, but two images containing events from their story.

> See https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b105065252/f18.image.r=fr%20
> 2186
> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale Française, ms. français 2186, carta 7*v*:
> Pyramus and Thisbe

The upper miniature depicts the lovers using a straw to communicate through a wall. The lower one contains the dead bodies of the lovers, pierced by Pyramus' sword, with a lion behind them, grasping a scarf in its mouth as it leaves the scene. The lion, the dead bodies, and the couple separated by the wall are the unmistakable clues that the images depict Pyramus and Thisbe, and the speech on the facing page confirms this interpretation: "Je qui sui Piramus por Tysbé me dement" (v 161). "I am Pyramus, who agonizes for Thisbe". He tells us that his youth has been devoted to love and then recounts part of their love story:

> Noz peres, noz amis ce vilenie semble,
> nos ont en cez tors mis, que ne parlons ensemble;
> bien sunt nos *animis*, que ne sumes ensembple.
> De fin corroz fremis quant a Tysbé n'asemble.
> Li murs est granz et forz de cez tors, et fetiz;
> ce n'est pas mes conforz que li arc sont voutiz.
> Au percier granz efforz mis d'un cisel tretiz:
> de c'est mes desconforz, que li tros est petiz.
> Dedenz aboëter poons a molt grant peine,
> ne n'i poons bouter fors ce tuël d'aveine (vv. 165–74, emphasis mine)

Our fathers, our friends–this seems discourteous–put us in this tower, so that we could not talk to each other. They are really our *enemies*, since we are not together. I tremble with righteous anger when I am not together with Thisbe. The wall of this tower is great, strong, and well made. It gives me no comfort that the arches are vaulted. I put great effort into piercing it with well-forged scissors. It grieves me that the hole is small. We can see each other through it only with great trouble. We can't push [anything] through except for this oat straw (emphasis mine).

Pyramus states that their parents, who ought to favor them, are enemies to love who prevent them from speaking to each other. Although this causes him great suffering, and the wall is a formidable obstacle, he nevertheless takes actions such as piercing the wall so that the lovers can communicate. Ovid includes this narrative in the *Metamorphoses*, and an anonymous tale appears in the twelfth century that more than doubles the length of Ovid's story though the addition of the God of Love, his interactions with the lovers and their interactions with each other.[31] As with Cligés and Tristan, Pyramus of the *Poire* has changed his story in several ways. [32]

The physical situation is the first difference one encounters between the twelfth-century anonymous *Pyrame et Thisbé* and the *Poire*. In *Pyrame et Thisbé*, the narrator describes the great suffering of Pyramus and Thisbe in love and explains that Thisbe (upon awaking from a dead faint caused by her pain) prays to God to grant them the ability to talk to each other. What separates them?

> Prochain furent li dui palais
> Et en tele maniere fais
> C'une paroiz et uns murs seulz
> Estoit divise d'ambedeus (vv. 313–16)

> The two palaces were adjoining, and made in such a way
> that a wall, and only one wall, divided the two of them.

They live in adjoining palaces with a common wall between them. In contrast, we saw in the quote above that Pyramus in the *Poire* claims that their fathers *imprisoned* them in a tower with a wall between them–a much more extreme measure than leaving them alone in their rooms. Like Cligés and Tristan, Pyramus in the *Poire* shapes perceptions, in this case by presenting a more difficult situation than the one in the twelfth-century text, and one that portrays the parents as more villainous. Turning to the illumina-

31. *Pyrame et Thisbé: Texte normand du XIIe siècle*. Ed., C. De Boer 1968. See the discussion on the date (*Pyrame et Thisbé* 1968, 19–25). De Boer notes that the story of Pyramus and Thisbe was well known in the second half of the twelfth century (*Pyrame et Thisbé* 1968, 23). Jung points out similar lines between the twelfth-century version and the *Poire*, but also considers Ovidian influences (Jung 1971, 314).

32. Marchello-Nizia lists these and, as with the Tristan versions, posits that the changes may either come from Tibaut or from another version (Marchello-Nizia 1984, 135–36).

tion again, we see that while a cursory observation suggested simply a *wall* between the two lovers, it is more likely a *tower* due to the round, crenellated top. Thus, it appears that the illuminator followed the words of the *Poire* exactly, depicting the tower of this more severe version instead of an ordinary wall.

Returning to *Pyrame et Thisbé*, the narrator describes their exploration of the wall:

> La crevace n'ert gaires grans
> Et fu celee par mout d'ans,
> De ci qu'Amours la fist trouver,
> Vers qui riens ne se puet celer.
> Quel chose est ce qu'Amours ne sent?
> Li dui amant premierement
> Aperçurent icel pertus:
> Primes Tisbé, puis Piramus (vv. 321–28)

> The cleft wasn't big at all and had been hidden for many years, but even so, Love, from whom nothing can hide, made her find it. Is there anything that Love isn't aware of? The two lovers spied this little chink very fast, first Thisbe, then Pyramus.

The couple finds a hole in the wall that had been long hidden because Love inspires them to go beyond the obvious and then to use the crack in the wall to their advantage. In the *Poire*, on the other hand, Pyramus continues in his extreme vein when he declares that he used heavy-duty scissors to bore a hole through the wall. Again, he changes the story, adding details that mean he must expend great effort to overcome the physical obstacle that separates them.

Lastly, in *Pyrame et Thisbé*, the couple speaks to each other through the crack in the wall, while in the *Poire*, Pyramus explains that they used an oat straw. Once Pyramus has pierced the wall he says that nothing will go through the small hole, "for ce tuël d'aveine" (v. 174) "except this oat straw". Pyramus concludes the *Poire* speech by explaining several benefits of the straw:

> Molt m'en doi conforter, car la tres douce aleine
> de Tysbé, sanz douter, en reçoif et aleine.
> Tysbé tient l'un des chief del tuël en sa bouche;
> ce n'est mie meschief, l'autre a la moie touche.

De ce vient le besiers qui les cuers nos entouche;
gries est li desirriers, que l'un l'autre n'aproche» (vv. 175–80)

I must take great comfort from it, because without a doubt
I receive and breathe the sweet breath of Thisbe.
Thisbe holds one end of the straw in her mouth;
this isn't misfortune, and the other touches mine.
From it come kisses that consume our hearts;
our desire is painful since we cannot approach one another."

Not only does the straw link the two together, through it Pyramus can breathe Thisbe's breath and feel her kisses so that they have multiple means of connection despite all the attempts to ensure they have none.[33] This straw plays an important role in the *Poire*, but does not appear in *Pyrame et Thisbé*.

Further, the illustrator of the *Poire* emphasizes the straw in the upper drawing. The lovers each hold an end of the straw in their mouths and the illustrator highlights it in the illumination: he outlines a straw on either side of the tower crenellations, providing symmetry to the composition that is vividly split by the tower wall, and replicating the two bodies with the tower between them. Pyramus and the illustrator focus on the straw, each in his own medium: Pyramus uses words to describe how it enables them to connect while the artist draws the straw in multiple places. Thus the observer takes it in repeatedly, and so it sticks in one's memory. Pyramus's speech and the image work synergistically, combining to produce a whole greater than the sum of the parts that fixes in the mind of the reader how Pyramus and Thisbe do not waver or give up, but take resourceful action to express their love. In line with what we saw for the two earlier pairs of lovers, the reader sees immediately not only the obstacles to love that their enemies put in place, but how they prevail against those obstacles.

The lower image for Pyramus and Thisbe stands out from all the others in the prologue by showing the lovers' dead bodies. Pyramus says nothing of their fate in the twenty line speech. However, unlike with the other love stories that are barely mentioned in the remainder of the text, the poet/narrator returns to the story of Pyramus and Thisbe in the main body of the *Poire*. Sylvia Huot's analysis shows that this story in the prologue functions

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33. Allen studies this sharing as an aspect of orality in the *Poire*, but also considers intertextualities such as from St. Augustine of Hippo (Allen 1998, 77–94).

as a performance of the narrative, while in the later verses (vv. 717–41), the poet/narrator identifies with their suffering (Huot 1985, 104–05).[34]

Following Pyramus and Thisbe come miniatures of preparation for a tournament, a discussion between the lover and the lady of this tournament against slanderers, and then a miniature of Paris and Helen. As discussed above, ms. A appears to have a cut leaf at this point (since it contains no lines on Paris and Helen) and ms. B has a different order for these sections. In spite of the fact that the verses appear in different arrangements in these manuscripts, they nevertheless link to the themes we have already observed. If the lovers from *Cligés* and the *Roman de Tristan* enhance acts that manage appearances and intervene to shape the perceptions they desire in the *Poire* prologue, Pyramus emphasizes his refusal to be stopped by obstacles and increases the effort and work he puts forth to respond to them. Pyramus thus counters his enemies with bold action, and Paris does this as well when he kidnaps Helen (v. 221 and v. 231). These last two examples emphasize taking action, responding, not giving up despite the difficulties, as the poet/narrator often hints that he might in the body of the text.

Yet, in the prologue, the poet/narrator does participate in the tournament against the slanderers—and he says that he defeats them: "Destruit sont mesdisant et veincu en l'estor", (v. 217) "The slanderers are destroyed and vanquished in the battle". Or perhaps not: for the slanderers and the dangers they represent reappear numerous times in the remainder of the text, another instance where more action seems to take place in the prologue than in the main body. The poet/narrator issues a final warning to his lady against slanderers just before the end of the work, calling them harmful and envious. One could argue that the poet/narrator's inability to act on his love in the body of the text due to fear of slanderers (despite all the examples of lovers in the prologue who take action) indicates that the prologue was added later.[35] However, it is equally plausible that, although the poet/narrator receives encouragement and specific exempla he could use, he simply remains unable to apply the advice offered to him.

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34. Huot also contrasts the images of Tristan and Iseut to that of Pyramus and Thisbe (Huot 1987, 179–80).
35. Keller claims that the prologue speeches and the full-page miniatures were added later than the original composition of the romance (Keller 1994, 213).

Conclusion

The *Poire* speeches of Cligés, Tristan and Pyramus focus on and respond to events in the romances about them that they never addressed in the texts from a century earlier. Tristan and Cligés highlight crucial moments of slanderers' attempts to thwart the lovers' desires that they deftly handled, while Pyramus describes the terrible situation of being imprisoned by one's parents and the great effort he undertook so as to communicate with Thisbe. Therefore, in the *Poire* romance, Cligés, Tristan and Pyramus offer new interpretations of the twelfth-century versions of their stories from their own perspectives, including changes that emphasize the actions against love by traitors, slanderers and enemies and how they responded by taking control of the situation and acting.

The full-page illuminations function as a laser, focusing the reader on a precise moment of a long narrative with specific details from the lover's speech. The illustrator (or perhaps the compiler who told him what to draw) clearly read and followed the speeches portraying the following: lovers on a bench (for both Cligés and Tristan); the doctors' cruel act of pouring molten lead into Fenice's palm; Mark placing his glove in the hole in the foliage through which the sun is shining, indicating that Mark rejects the gossip told him by a deceitful, dishonest courtier; Pyramus and Thisbe communicating through a straw; and the straw highlighted by the tower crenellations. The visuals serve as mnemonic aids to fix the protagonist's choice of episode from his love story and interpretation of it in the mind of the reader.

The illuminations combine synergistically with the facing-page speech of the protagonist/lover in order to provide models for responses to barriers to love, including slanderers, enemies and obstacles. By itself, neither image nor text would have the cumulative effect of the combination of the two to rework the story and to cement it in the mind of the reader as only a visual can; they form a rare combination in romance whose sum is greater than its parts. In each case, the lovers provide an object lesson in managing appearances and shaping influences in situations of gossip, slander or physical obstacles to love that the full-page illuminations of the prologue lock into the reader's memory. The notion of fixing the ideas from the *Poire* also ends the romance, for the last words of the poet/narrator before the explicit of the text are:

Saches, tant com durra cist mondes
sera en bouche et en memore
toz jors li *Romanz de la Poire* (vv. 3024–26)

Know that as long as this world endures
in the mouth and in the memory always
will be the *Romance of the Pear.*

These words conclude the work and simultaneously return us to the pro-
logue, as they recall the prologue's special capacity to fix the stories told in
the mind of an observer who hears the text and absorbs the images.

Appendix A: Contents of Prologue
↔ indicates facing pages

	1r: Historiated letter, poet/narrator tells of love, 20 verses
1v: Illumination: God Love, Amors, above shooting couple, below, with arrow ↔	**2r**: Speech of Amors, 20 verses
2v: Illumination: Fortune and wheel ↔	**3r**: Speech of Fortune, 20 verses
3v: Illumination: Cligés and Fenice on bench, ↔ above, Fenice and physicians, below	**4r**: Speech of Cligés, 20 verses
4v: Illumination: Beloved gives ring above, ↔ couple embraces below	**5r**: Poet/narrator on love and ring, 20 verses
5v: Illumination: Tristan and Iseut on bench above, ↔ discovered by Mark in the forest, below	**6r**: Tristan begins speech, 20 verses
6v: Tristan continues speech, 20 verses ↔	**7r** : Tristan completes speech, 20 verses
7v: Illumination: Pyramus and Thisbe ↔ communicating with a straw above; dead bodies of Pyramus and Thisbe with lion, below	**8r**: Speech of Pyramus, 20 verses
8v: Illumination: Beloved gives lover a scarf ↔ above; lover prepares for tournament, below	**9r**: Poet/narrator on tournament, 20 verses
9v: Illumination: Paris and Helen in boat above, ↔ outside city below	**10r**: Poet/narrator more on tournament, 20 verses (Omitted: Paris and Helen story)
10v: Last full-page illumination: Poet/narrator ↔ presents the romance to the beloved	**11r**: Other prefatory remarks begin

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Annotator as Ordinary Reader

Accuracy, Relevance, and Editorial Method

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Abstract

Like the notes in many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of English poetry, William Tooke's explanatory annotations to the Poetical Works of Charles Churchill *(1804) have been dismissed as inaccurate and irrelevant. Yet in drawing the bulk of his notes from newspapers and other popular print ephemera of Churchill's lifetime (1732–64), Tooke (1777–1863) reveals both how Churchill fashioned his satires to appeal to periodical readers and how Churchill's popularity depended on such readers seeking false or exaggerated rumors of celebrity scandal. In addition, by devaluing accuracy, authenticity, and relevance in their own selection of sources, Tooke's notes raise questions about the place of accuracy and relevance in modern explanatory editing, suggesting that the emphasis on accuracy can sometimes lead to historically inaccurate readings.*

Inadequate seems too mild a word to describe how modern editors regard the printed notes in early poetry editions. Of William Warburton's 1751 *Works of Alexander Pope*, Frederick Bateson observes, "the irrelevance and the verbosity" of the notes "must be read to be believed" (1951, xvi). Though infamous, Warburton's notes are far from the only editorial explanations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to offend. Zachary Grey's 1744 explanatory notes to Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* are "informative", John Wilders admits, but Grey "could seldom resist the temptation to comment, even when he had little of relevance to say" (Butler 1967, lx). Regarding the annotations to Thomas Evans's 1779 *Works of Matthew Prior*, H. Bunker Wright and Monroe K. Spears also waver: some notes are "valuable and many wildly erroneous" (1971, xlvi). John Baird and Charles Ryskamp dismiss the apparatus to John S. Memes' 1832 *Poems of William Cowper* as "a fountain of error" (1995, xxiv). Worst of all, Alfred Milnes' 1881–83 notes to *Hudibras* ignore "indecent passages" (Butler 1967, lxi). Laments about the ills of annotation are hardly specific to the decades between 1700 and 1900, but they are common with regard to poetry editions. Modern editors agree: though sporadically helpful, early

annotators guess at vague references, censor obscene ones, and supply both flawed and irrelevant information.

The low reputation of early note-makers reflects their neglect for two eighteenth-century concepts now central to modern annotation: authenticity and intentionality. Authenticity, or the notion that the contextual information or explanations supplied by commentators must be "tested by documents and records" (DE GRAZIA 1991, 5) rather than tradition or hearsay, emerges in editions such as Edmond Malone's 1790 Shakespeare and Thomas Percy's *Reliques* (GROOM 1999, 36–37, 85–86). Typically, the documents considered most authentic were, and to a great extent continue to be today, what I will call "author-proximate" materials: an author's personal papers, including letters and diaries, as well as accounts by the author's associates. But editorial techniques varied widely (SEARY 1990; ERSKINE-HILL 1995; McLANE 2010) and as modern discontent with early annotation implies, Malone and Percy were exceptions to dominant trends even as they augured the future. Consistent with their eclectic approach to textual matters, early editors, in the cases when they gave documentation, often drew on oral and printed sources of dubious authority.

Intentionality, the other idea central to modern annotation, also dates from the eighteenth century. As Marcus Walsh argues, intention-oriented editing, both the pursuit of what "authors intended to mean" and the faith that materials "close in time" to the author are most relevant for recovering that intention, emerged after 1700 (1997, 2, 26).[1] This view was well-established by the time of the *Donaldson v. Becket* copyright decision of 1774, which recognized the author as textual owner. For Walsh, early editors understood intention along the lines of the "verbal intention" described by the hermeneuticist E. D. Hirsch: through "probability judgments" based on authentic contextual documents, accidental "significances" could be pared away to reveal a text's "meaning", i.e., the author's intention, which for Hirsch is also to say the accurate or correct reading (1967). Even if Hirsch's theory is now largely discredited (FISH 1980; MAYNARD 2009), there is little disputing the idea that annotation, in the eighteenth century and certainly by the time most of our still-standard editions appeared in the mid- to late-twentieth century, involved the recreation of intention, even in the distributed form recognized by "social editing" (McGANN 1983; McKENZIE 1986). Yet, as the above dismissals again imply, not all early annotators embraced intentionality, which is closely linked to ideas

1. For a discussion of the "authorial orientation" in editing, see SHILLINGSBURG 1986.

of accuracy and relevance in modern explicatory editing. The superiority of the notes in modern editions therefore reflects those editions' superior sources, sources often deemed reliable and relevant on account of their proximity to the author.

The focus of the present essay, William Tooke's *Poetical Works of Charles Churchill*, earns the same dismissal as other early editions. Started in the 1790s while Tooke (1777–1863) was training as a solicitor, published anonymously in 1804, and expanded in 1844, the *Poetical Works* is the first fully annotated edition of the poetry of Churchill (1732–64), the libertine poet-journalist and friend of the politician John Wilkes. Tooke's annotation has met with censure. In the 1956 Clarendon edition of Churchill, Douglas Grant bemoans Tooke's marginal identifications of Churchill's satiric allusions as "wrong or, at the best, inaccurate" (Grant 1956, vi). Adam Rounce has also characterized Tooke's notes as "prolix and inaccurate" (Rounce 2003, xxxii). The perception of such problems is magnified because Tooke's footnotes, occupying about half of every page, cannot be ignored (fig. 1). As early as 1845, the reviewer John Forster lists the shoddy notes and declares Tooke "a bad annotator" (46, 49). But since most of the notes Forster cites were added in 1844, his criticisms do not entirely apply to the first edition.[2] Even so, Tooke's 1804 apparatus is deeply flawed. In a characteristic gaffe, one of Tooke's notes to Churchill's anti-theatrical satire *The Rosciad* (1761) conflates Thomas Davies, the biographer, with Thomas Davis, the actor (Tooke 1804, 1:23–24n). Such an error reflects Tooke's apparent disregard for accuracy, a nonchalance traceable to his source selection. Tooke draws information primarily from papers and pamphlets rather than from the author-proximate documents favored by most annotators today.

Tooke's apparatus demands attention insofar as it offends modern editorial orthodoxy. His flawed notes, like their unreliable sources, reflect "public notoriety", Tooke's self-described criterion for gauging what information readers of the 1760s possessed and how they identified Churchill's satiric allusions. In taking a reader-focused approach at odds with the author-oriented rationales guiding most modern annotators, Tooke raises interesting questions, not least about the reception of *The Rosciad* and *The Ghost* (1762–63), two poems aimed at a broad audience without specialized political knowledge.[3] In treating the information that readers brought

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2. Of the eleven errors and inconsistencies that Forster identifies (1845, 47–49), only four appear in the 1804 edition.

3. Dublin reprints of *The Rosciad* sold for 3d. Political satires such as *The Prophecy of Famine* (1763) sold for 2s 6d and were not cheaply reprinted until the copyright lapsed in 1779.
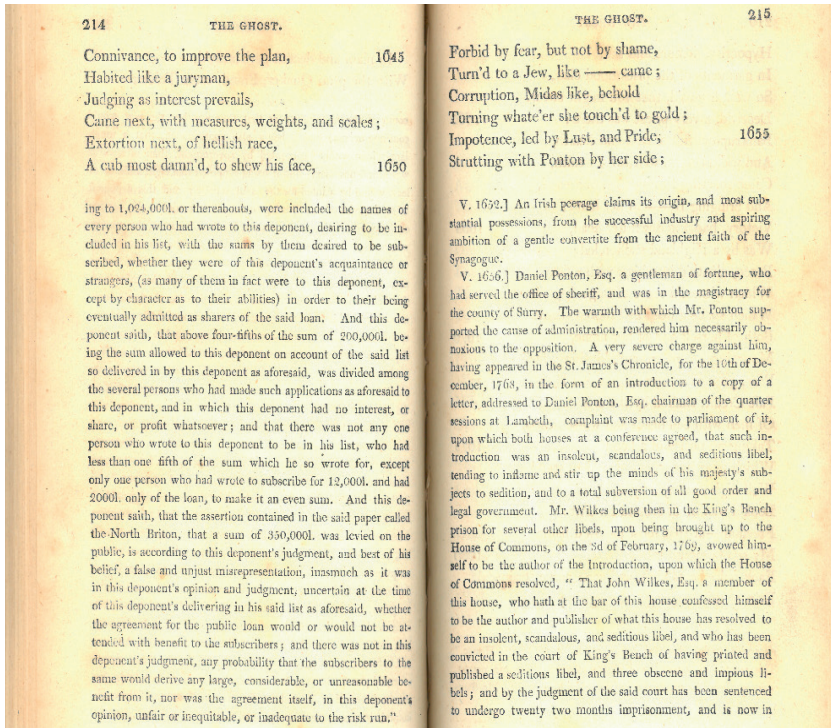
Figure 1. [William Tooke, ed.] *The Poetical Works of Charles Churchill, with Explanatory Notes; and An Authentic Account of his Life*, 2 vols. (London: C. and R. Baldwin, 1804), 2:214–215.

to Churchill's poems as shaped by vagaries of print circulation beyond authorial control, Tooke presents allusive satire as a mode of publicity, an extension of a print-driven scandal culture energized by the mid-century expansion of the press in England. To what extent Tooke consciously aims for this presentation is unclear, but his notes nonetheless offer insight into reading practices: Churchill's contemporaries used the veiled references in his satires to revisit scandalous tales from the popular press. Awareness of this reception is diminished in modern annotated editions drawing information from mainly author-proximate sources, information deemed reliable precisely because it has been spared the same public circulation that qualifies anecdotes for explanation in Tooke's edition. One of the unexpected virtues of the 1804 *Poetical Works*, then, is how it calls into question the editorial allegiance to intentionalist ideas of accuracy and relevance, a questioning that can be extended to annotation across many genres and

times. Tooke suggests not merely the appeal of the false and irrelevant for readers in an age of printed scandal. He also implies that, while early annotations may not meet today's standards of facticity, they nonetheless yield insights into past habits of reading, insights often more historically accurate than what can be gleaned from modern editions.

Tooke's 1804 Apparatus

A quick perusal of Tooke's notes appears to confirm their deficiency. With regard to the following lines in Churchill's 1763 *Epistle to William Hogarth*, Tooke identifies the "injur'd son" as alluding to a Thomas Potter: "Whilst Fathers, by relentless passion led, / Doom worthy injur'd sons to beg their bread, / Merely with ill-got, ill-sav'd wealth to grace, / An alien, abject, poor, proud, upstart race" (1:166 [lines 195–98] and n).[4] In fact, Potter, a friend of both Churchill and Wilkes, was not dispossessed; rather, it was Thomas's older brother John Potter who lost his inheritance after marrying a servant in 1741. Thus Douglas Grant, editor of the standard edition of Churchill's poetry, glosses the "injur'd son" as a reference to Edward Montagu, the son of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1956, 521n) who was disinherited in 1761.[5] Tooke's note apparently reflects his awareness of Churchill's efforts after 1763 to wound his enemy William Warburton by hinting in print of an affair between Thomas and Warburton's wife, Gertrude (see Nichol 2000; Rounce 2005). Even so, the superiority of Grant's explanation rests on its greater accuracy, which is to say, on its better reflecting the poet's likely intention. As the brother-in-law of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, the Prime Minister in 1761 and target of Churchill's political satires, Montagu and his recent fate would have interested the poet more than John Potter's long-ago disinheritance.

Accuracy aside, the relevance of much of the information Tooke offers is also doubtful. Take, for instance, the following explanation of Churchill's slighting allusion to Thomas Arne:

> Thomas Augustine Arne, an English musician, and brother to Mrs. Cibber, was born in 1710. He had his education at Eton, and was afterwards articled to an attorney; but music had more charms for him than law. . . .

4. All quotations of Churchill's poetry are from the text of Tooke's 1804 edition.
5. "Potter, Thomas (1718?–1759)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter *ODNB*); "Potter, John (1673/4–1747)", *ODNB*. John Potter the son does not have an *ODNB* entry, but his father's *ODNB* entry mentions the son's marriage.

> His opera of Artaxerxes still ranks among the first of English composi-
> tions. . . . His unbounded attachment to the fair sex contributed to keep
> him always poor. He died in 1778 of a spasm in the lungs. (1:48n)

Had Churchill satirized Arne's romantic escapades or health in *The
Rosciad*, this note might pass. But Churchill mocks Arne's musical abilities
("Tommy Arne . . . whose only merit's to compile" [line 48, lines 713–14]),
making Tooke's comments about sex and death irrelevant. Such is true
even considering Churchill's later reference to Charlotte Brent, Arne's stu-
dent and rumored mistress, where the focus again falls on Arne's inepti-
tude, now as vocal instructor: "Let him reverse kind Nature's first decrees,
/ And teach ev'n Brent a method not to please" (lines 719–20). Grant's
note on Arne is quite different: "Thomas Augustine Arne (1710–78) was
introduced into *The Rosciad* because his opera *Artaxerxes* . . . was so popu-
lar that the plays at Drury Lane were scarcely patronized" (1956, 470n). By
focusing on Churchill's likely motives for satirizing Arne, and by giving
only as much context as seems merited by the text, Grant uses Churchill's
presumed intentions to limit the note's content. No similar brake is applied
to Tooke's runaway explanation.

Tooke's dubious notes clash with his modern-sounding rationale for
annotation. "The difficulty experienced by the Editor in understanding
many of [Churchill's] allusions", Tooke explains in his preface, "gave rise to
the present work" (1:1). Whether this "difficulty" was real or an excuse for a
young solicitor's venturing into print, Tooke eschews the aesthetic brand of
editing involving the accumulation of "beauties" and classical parallels in
favor of a historicist approach. His apparent sense that annotation should
supply context familiar to an author's early readers and thereby facilitate
later comprehension anticipates modern rationales. As Martin Battestin
stated in 1981, annotation means "reconstruct[ing] what a passage meant
to the author and his first readers", including the provision of "information
about specific persons, places, and events once known to the author's con-
temporaries" (20, 8). Even if more recent editors regard the idea of notes
enabling moderns to read as if contemporaries with skepticism, today's con-
tinued confidence in annotation's ability to foster understanding by provid-
ing "information which would have been available to well-informed [past]
readers" (DRYDEN 1995, xxii) is anticipated by Tooke.

The familiarity of Tooke's rationale ends there, however. Instead of
recovering the common knowledge held by well-informed readers past,
Tooke supplies information with "public notoriety" (1:2). His notes "elu-
cidate only the particulars in the public conduct of persons censured by

the satirist, and . . . abstain from all notice of their private vices" (1:4). Public notoriety dictates Tooke's source selection. If annotation aims to explain allusions only to widely publicized happenings, then the popular press offers the best guide to explanation. While using some unspecified manuscripts provided by Churchill's publisher, William Flexney, Tooke draws the bulk of his notes from "magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers" of Churchill's lifetime (1:5), including, presumably, the *London Chronicle*, *Lloyd's Evening Post*, and the *Public Advertiser*. To gauge who and what achieved "notoriety", Tooke applies a further standard of "concurrent testimonies", identifying only satiric allusions to persons and events reported in multiple papers. Making a probability judgment of a different kind than Hirsch, Tooke appears to estimate what allusions would be identifiable and how they would be identified in the 1760s based on the extent to which the targets of such allusions were covered in the press. Writing in the wake of Malone's Shakespeare, Tooke readily admits that his sources lack "an impression of authenticity" (1:5), and he rejects the apocryphal story of the young Churchill peddling cider for its inauthenticity, for its being a circumstance of which the manuscripts "make no mention" (1:x–xin). But he otherwise ignores the claims of authenticity and, what is the same both now and then, of intentionality. Though he never denies a desire to recover the intended targets of Churchill's allusions, Tooke's preference for published, secondhand accounts over unpublished, primary sources by the poet and his associates nonetheless implies that his annotations may not always supply intended meanings.

The apparent defectiveness of Tooke's notes also reflects his disregard for accurate, author-proximate sources. The irrelevancies about Arne, together with Tooke's misidentification of Churchill's "injur'd son" as Thomas Potter, can be attributed to Tooke's reliance on periodicals. The erroneous note in the 1844 edition attached to the following lines from *The Rosciad* seems to have a similar origin: "Ross . . . / Was fast asleep at dear Statira's feet; / Statira, with her hero to agree, / Stood on her feet as fast asleep as he" (lines 629–32). Tooke's note identifies Statira as the actress "Mrs. Palmer, the daughter of Mrs. [Hannah] Pritchard" (1844, 1:64n), and though he cites no source, his stated rationale for annotation suggests that the identification derives from notices in the papers. Grant disagrees, identifying Statira as either Sarah Ward or George Anne Bellamy, both of whom played Statira opposite David Ross in Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens* during the 1750s and 60s (1956, 468n). Grant rarely admits the possibility of multiple allusion, so his offering Bellamy as a second option signals hesitancy about the Ward identification for the same reason perhaps that he

suspects Tooke's accuracy more generally. Where the Ward identification comes from the newspapers, Bellamy derives from the *Records* (1832) of John Taylor, the drama critic.[6] Here and elsewhere, Grant privileges documents by Churchill's intimates or, as with Taylor, accounts by contemporaries with insider knowledge, over widely-selling papers and pamphlets.[7] Grant's identification of Statira is superior to that of Tooke, as it both derives from an authentic source and, through that claim to genuineness, is held better to reflect Churchill's likely intention.

"Note-orious" Vices: Annotating Satire for an Age of Scandal

Whatever the errors it allows, Tooke's reliance on newspapers proves salutary in one respect. By flanking his poetry with notes drawn from newsprint, Tooke locates Churchill amid one of the key developments in mid eighteenth-century England: the rise of an industrialized press circulating information on a mass scale. Over the century the number of newspapers in England doubled, with forty-five new journals appearing between 1745 and 1760 alone. By 1775, the circulation of daily and tri-weekly papers spiked to roughly 2,500 per issue, the actual readership proving even larger on account of sharing and reading aloud (Harris 2009, 422). To what extent this context for Churchill is an accident of Tooke's source selection is unclear; Tooke declines to explicate imitations of "preceding writers" (1:4), so he at least appears eager to assimilate Churchill to print contemporaneity. In any case, Churchill invited this treatment. The poet's contributions to England's print-fueled information culture, namely his essays for John Wilkes's journal, *The North Briton* (1762–63), are well known. Lance Bertelsen links Churchill's "associative" poetics, including his digressions and juxtapositions, to the journalism of his friends, George Colman and Bonnell Thornton (1986, 107–19, 150–60). Churchill's *The Ghost*, inspired by the media frenzy around the Cock Lane Ghost hoax and trial (1762–63), exemplifies these tactics, the digressive poem mimicking the confluences of the many-columned eighteenth-century paper.

6. Grant attributes the Ward identification to Robert Lowe, who cites the *Publick Advertiser* (March 18, 1761) identifying Ward as Statira (1891, 32n3).

7. Of Grant's 134 notes to *The Rosciad*, less than thirty (22 percent) feature information from periodicals. Of the 250 notes to *The Ghost*, approximately thirty (13 percent) offer information from periodicals.

Churchill's revisions also bear the mark of the press. Of the nine editions of *The Rosciad*, five were enlarged (the second, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth), with most of the added lines alluding to recent events. Mindful of the ephemerality of the news, of the "obsolescence of the newspaper on the morrow of its printing" (ANDERSON 1991, 35), Churchill seemingly sought to sustain his appeal among newsreaders by repeating news items. The seventh edition of *The Rosciad* (1763), for example, adds allusions to London plays from autumn 1762, including this jibe at the actor John Jackson: "List to that voice—did ever Discord hear / Sounds so well fitted to her untun'd ear?" (lines 429–30). Echoing remarks on Jackson in the *Theatrical Review* of January 1763 ("Account of New Performers", 37–38), the poem mimics the papers, serving as a regularly-updating outlet for theatrical gossip. Added to the fifth edition months after the 1761 premier of Arne's oratorio *Judith* (*pace* Grant, not *Artaxerxes*), Churchill's above-mentioned slighting of Arne likewise appears to capitalize on the media attention surrounding the opening performance.[8] This updating tactic reaches its height in *The Ghost*. While Books 1 and 2 appeared at the start of the Cock Lane scandal, Books 3 (October 1762) and 4 (November 1763) follow the papers and cover the trial of the hoaxers. The third edition of Book 1 (1763) also adds an allusion to Wilkes' duel with William, Earl Talbot in October 1762, an event provoking printed rumors.[9] By linking Churchill to the world of popular print, Tooke's notes confirm the implication of the poet's own practice: verse satire and periodicals mutually reinforced. No surprise, then, that Churchill's poetic debut—*The Rosciad*—satirized actors, the darlings of the eighteenth-century news cycle.

Central to Churchill's method was the traffic in gossip enabled by the diffusion of cheap print. Although the official advent of "scandal culture" in England dates to the arrival in 1769 of the *Town and Country Magazine* (TILLYARD 2005), the print-mediated pursuit of the disgraces of the rich and powerful arose much earlier if the space devoted in newspapers to bankruptcies and duels is evidence. Satire, too, had long traded in scandal (KNIGHT 2004, 229; ZWICKER 2014), but never on this scale. Where earlier satirists could not trust readers beyond the bounds of court or coterie

8. As the fifth edition appeared prior to the premier of *Artaxerxes* on February 2, 1762 (the only 1762 edition of *The Rosciad* is the sixth), the allusion would be to *Judith* (see GILMAN 2013, 338).

9. Examples include "A Speech of Falstaff", *St. James's Chronicle* (October 9–12, 1762) and the broadside poem, *B[agsho]t H[eat]h: or, The Modern Duel* (London, 1762).

to know the latest gossip, Churchill could assume a broad familiarity on account of an expanding media system. Confidence in both the availability of gossip and the public appetite for salacious revelations led Churchill to include the latest rumors in his verse. The collapsing of personal life into poetry, the "scandalous celebrity" of later poets such as Lord Byron (Tuite 2007, 78), was present for Churchill as early as *Night* (1761) and intensified in the poems written after Churchill's scandalous elopement with the teenage Elizabeth Carr in 1763. In *The Rosciad* and *The Ghost*, however, the primary appeal derives from allusions to the scandals of others. As Rounce states, Churchill's satires are a "record of the artistic and political scandals of the time" (2003, rear cover); and *The Rosciad* specifically doubles as a "gossip column" (Hammond 2006, 383). So clear to contemporaries was the focus on scurrilities that one reviewer of *The Duellist* (1764), a poem alluding to Wilkes's 1763 duel with Samuel Martin, refused to offer excerpts from Book 3 as to not "propagate scandal" by reprinting them (Review of *The Duellist* 1763, 538).

Churchill's proximity to scandal culture goes a way toward explaining Tooke's approach to annotation. Early in his preface, Tooke implicitly contrasts his annotative procedure with that of T. J. Mathias's verse satire, *The Pursuits of Literature*. Featuring copious notes detailing unknown and in many cases likely invented affairs, Mathias's poem scandalized the *beau monde* when it appeared in 1794. "Unlike . . . satirists of *note-orious* memory", i.e., Mathias, Tooke identifies allusions only to actual, well-publicized scandals (1:2n). Tooke's pun, "*note-orious*", validates his reliance on periodicals by proposing the natural affinity of notes and gossip, his notes appearing inoffensive through the juxtaposition with Mathias's slanderous annotations. Meanwhile, the comparison links Churchill's popularity to that of Mathias's poem, the latter's appeal reflecting "the scandal . . . which [it] contain[s]" (*Impartial Strictures* 1798, 12). By stressing Churchill's immersion in scandal, Tooke licenses his own rehashing of sordid anecdotes.

Tooke's source selection for his notes confirms what the reviewer of *The Duellist* implies: Churchill's allusive satires propagated scandal—though, as we will see, they did so differently than the papers. Tooke's "public notoriety" rationale reinforces this view, despite the tenuousness of his apparent supporting belief that "public" failings can be divided from "private" vices. While the public/private distinction had evolved a material-spatial basis by the mid-1700s, both Churchill and the press blurred such distinctions, referring to domestic scandals to imply the unsuitability of persons for public office (Clark 2004, 19–52). As Tooke's stress on "concurrent testimonies"

reveals, public notoriety proves a function less of place than of circulation. "Public" business at Parliament counted as "private" if ignored by the press, while duels, debts, and other domestic scrapes were "public" information if enough papers reported them. Whether an allusion to a "private" trespass merits a note depends on publicity—hence why Tooke immediately reneges on his promise to "abstain" from detailing "private vices". Rather, his notes will "elucidate only the particulars [of] public conduct . . . except in some instances too notorious not to call for direct animadversion" (1:4). His notes are rarely admonitory, so the resort to "animadversion" enlists moral indignation to shelter Tooke from the potential charge of bowing to the whims of publicity.

In the absence of surviving accounts of reading Churchill, Tooke's notes imply how early audiences experienced the poet's work. By imitating the function and periodicity of the papers, Churchill invited readers to apply periodical reading practices, to read for gossip. The shifting demands on satire famously observed by Henry Fielding in 1748—readers ask "not, as formerly, What is the Subject? . . . But, who is abused?" (1975, 212)—imply the spread of scandal-seeking habits. Churchill's allusions resist the "prompt verifiability" (Benjamin 1969, 89) of the papers, and this initial illegibility drove their appeal. As Jennifer Snead observes of Pope's *Dunciad*—a poem also updated in later versions to reflect breaking literary news—allusions enlist readers as participants in meaning-making (2010, 198–200). At times Churchill may initiate rumors. *The Duellist* speculates that Martin was part of a conspiracy to assassinate Wilkes (Churchill 2003, 108–09). *The Times* (1764) alleges sexual crimes against George Sackville Germain, 1st Viscount Sackville (at line 494) that have not been independently verified—Sackville was not "renowned for sexual irregularity" (Churchill 1997, 179)—so the poet may traffic in fake news there, too. Typically, however, Churchill spreads gossip less by creating new stories than by giving readers occasions to recycle what they already knew from the papers. Marginal jottings reveal readers who enjoyed drawing on their stock of gossip to identify Churchill's semi-suppressed names (fig. 2).

False Notes: Audience in Modern Editions

So far we have seen how Tooke's notes connect Churchill to his readers, the poet cagily adjusting his satires to the vogue for scandal and relying on the papers to do it. But by working from periodicals, Tooke also draws a crucial distinction between authorial intention and reader experience.
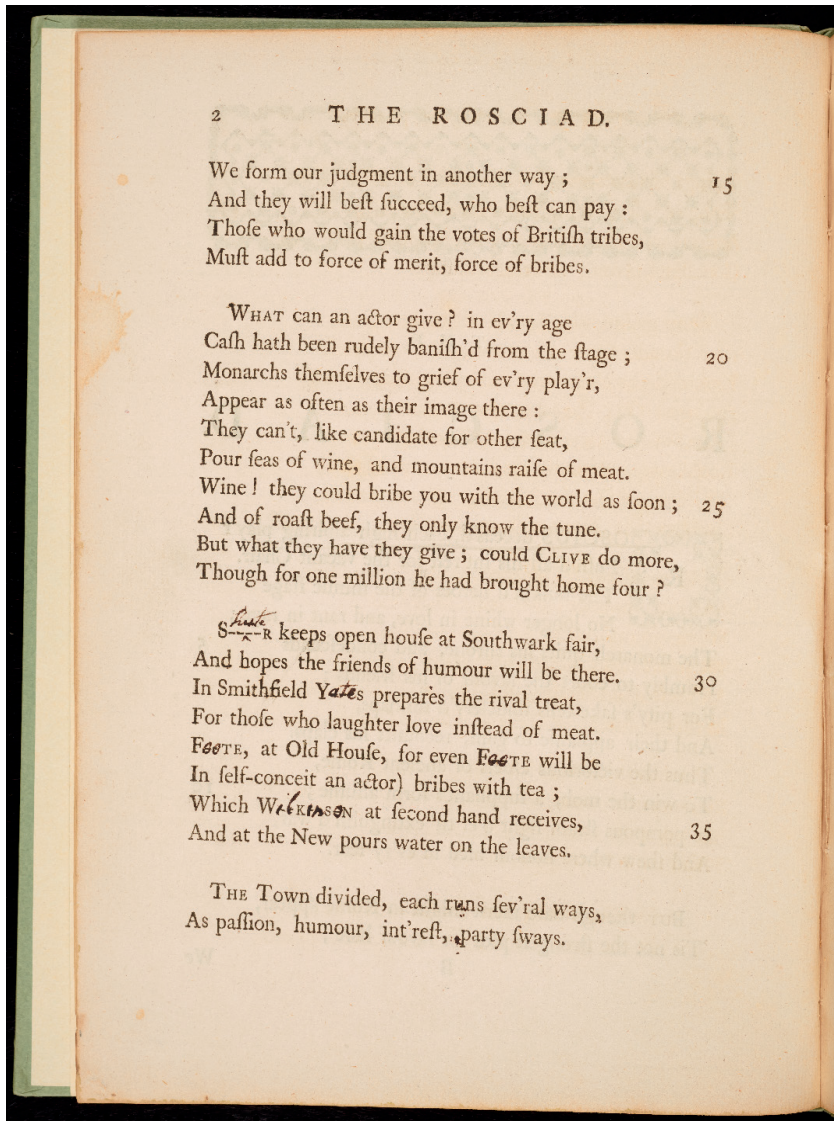
Figure 2. Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad*, 3rd ed. (London: W. Flexney, 1761), 2. The Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

In this, Tooke differs from later editors, who, as Battestin implies when declaring the annotator's task to be the retrieval of "what a passage meant to the author *and* his first readers" (italics mine), treat authors and readers as more or less identical. Grant, who never openly endorses a rationale like Battestin's, relies on author-proximate materials and therefore also assumes at some level Churchill's "first readers" to be ideal readers, having the same knowledge as the poet and identifying his allusions as intended. Even when the annotator's job is framed differently, as the supplying of the "once-shared 'linguist and literary expertise'" of a historical era, the drawing of notes from the author's papers or other insider accounts continues to imply that "informed" readers shared the author's knowledge (Small and Walsh 1991, 8). Such an assumption contradicts historical evidence. If Churchill's friend Wilkes could complain from France in 1764 about "obscurities" in the poet's "late pieces", then it is doubtful to think readers lacking ties to the poet identified all of his allusions, or at least identified all of them as intended (Weatherly 1954, 89). Churchill's readers could identify some allusions and guess at others, to be sure; the poet was famous for naming names in his poetry, and he would not have been successful if the identities of many of his targets were obscure. Yet readers also no doubt lacked the knowledge to identify, or to identify correctly, less obvious references. This is not just because past readers lacked those editions, such as Wilkes's *Correspondence*, available to scholars today, but because allusion itself often aims at a "coterie audience of the author's acquaintance" (Abrams 1993, 8). As Tooke's drawing on the same papers informing early encounters with Churchill's poems should remind us, reception and intention differ. Readers in the 1760s drew information from other kinds of sources than scholars and therefore sometimes identified allusions differently. To annotate using authentic sources, far from recreating what Churchill's readers knew or what a passage meant to them, often substitutes the author's knowledge for that of his or her first readers. Editors have every right to supply the identifications that authors intended, but to imply that first or early readers knew what authors knew and read in ways consistent with authorial preferences is misleading.

One scholar who has recognized the problematic relation of author and reader in modern editing is Ian Small. In his essay, "The Editor as Annotator as Ideal Reader", Small challenges the assumption that authors and readers possessed more or less identical knowledge. Far from universally intelligible, all texts include some references that many "first readers", however defined, could neither identify nor recognize as allusions. Readers comprise many sub-communities with knowledges specific to their class,

gender, and location. Mindful of the inability of the conventional print edition to address this huge range of actual or potential information stores, Small recommends "intended audience" as a more workable guide to annotation (1991, 203–04).

The problem with Small's alternative is that it simply admits what was always already true: that the recovery of the meanings assigned by past readers to texts has been limited to meanings that authors were thought to have also intended. Though expedient for editors constrained by cost and space, this scheme will disappoint scholars in search of historical reading experiences. One can object that to ask editors to recover past reading experiences is to confuse editing with book or reception history; as Peter Shillingsburg argues, "the purpose of editing is not to replicate the past", including the many ways past readers interacted with texts (SHILLINGS-BURG 2017, 44). But when annotators claim to supply meanings assigned to texts by "first readers", or even when they claim to recover once-shared cultural knowledge, they already veer into reception history. And since annotation appears to have *always* involved implicit claims about the nature of interactions with texts in the past, one is justified in wishing that Small's solution was more committed to the recovery of actual reading practices. Beyond underrating the challenge of identifying the intended readership, Small trades the editor's ideal reader for the author's ideal reader. To avoid confusing author with reader, annotators must bend to an author's implicit or explicit judgments about the knowledge that audiences possessed. This approach neglects how authors can both misidentify audiences and over-rate audience competence. Notes framed according to Small's system would therefore neglect one key question of interest to reading historians: what did actual readers know?

Accidentally perhaps, Tooke's apparatus addresses this question of knowledge and, in so doing, shows the peril of explanatory notes that conflate authors and readers. Instead of viewing reader knowledge as identical to author knowledge, or for practical purposes treating texts as un-annotatable without limiting that knowledge to authorial projections, Tooke seeks to recover actual reader knowledge by tracing it to its source: the news. Churchill's "first readers" drew their information from a body of cheap print increasingly transcending class and location. So pamphlets and papers offer the best guides to what most readers knew. Contrasted with Tooke's approach, the modern privileging of *uncirculated* texts as sources for "shared" knowledge now looks suspect. Tooke's reliance on "concurrent testimonies" also hints how the range of potential reader knowledges might be constrained without recourse to intention. Granted, Tooke

omits to state how many "concurrent testimonies" make for a "*note-orious*" anecdote, raising doubts about how representative his notes are of actual popular knowledge. Nor is it clear if Tooke's use of the papers reflects a principled position, or simply a response to the unavailability of alternative sources. Yet, if these ambiguities dissuade annotators today from adopting his approach, they do not reduce the efficacy of Tooke's method in revealing faulty assumptions in modern approaches to annotation.

Revisiting the reference to the "injur'd son" in the *Epistle to Hogarth* illustrates the potential for modern notes to mislead about past reading experiences. Even if Churchill could imagine alluding to John to re-activate rumors of John's brother's tryst with Gertrude, Churchill did not fall out with Warburton until November 1763, making a reference to either Potter brother in the preceding June unlikely. Grant is probably right that Churchill intended Montagu. But for "first readers" lacking Churchill's interest in Bute, and also lacking the copy of Horace Walpole's letters that Grant has, would Montagu have jumped to mind? [10] Even if Montagu was better known than John Potter, which is certain, the mass of Churchill's readers would have been no more likely to supply Montagu's name than that of one of the other divested sons who were newspaper fodder in the 1760s. The reasons for this are twofold. First, the allusion is in fact to "injur'd sons", the plural inviting readers to either interpret the phrase as a generalization or to connect it to multiple "sons", possibly none of them Montagu. Grant's preference for single over plural identifications obscures how many of Churchill's allusions may have elicited multiple names, something here that the use of the plural encourages. Second, the obituaries in the main London papers largely ignore the younger Montagu's fate, one declaring that the elder Montagu's fortune would in fact "devolve" on his son (*Lloyd's Evening Post* 1761). In brief, nothing suggests that Montagu's ill fortune was sufficiently publicized to shape the reading of the allusion to the exclusion of all alternatives. If Tooke's note on "injur'd sons" fails to convince, it is not for ignoring intention. It founders on Tooke's own criterion of "concurrent testimonies": nothing proves that John's 1741 fate was adequately circulated in 1763 to make part of the information readers brought to the poem.

10. Grant does not cite his source of this identification. However, since one of Grant's preferred sources is *The Letters of Horace Walpole* (1903–1905), and since Walpole also notes Montagu's smaller-than-expected inheritance (1960, 472–73), we can infer that Grant draws on Walpole.

Modern editions also mislead about whether readers even had the knowledge to assign identities to some allusions. In Grant's note to one passage from Churchill's *The Times* (1764), "H——" is identified as Thomas Hervey, who in 1744 secretly wed his mistress Anne Coghlan and later denied the marriage (551n): "Trust not to rakes—alas! 'tis all pretence— / They take up raking only as a fence / 'Gainst common fame—place H—— in thy view" (lines 483–85). Tooke ignores "H——", one of many allusions ignored in his remarks to this poem, omissions seen by some as proof of Tooke's prudishness (Laver 1933, 1:xi). But when identifying "Foote" in line 396 of *The Rosciad*, Tooke broaches the sodomy charge brought against the actor Samuel Foote: "An imputation too gross to be recorded was thrown out against his character" (29n). Publicity, not prudery, constrains Tooke. The allusive targets in *The Times* seem to have been deemed as insufficiently notorious in 1764 to be identified, a conclusion that Tooke's possible failure to trace them in his research would support. Male sodomy was seen as heinous, so Foote's trial received press coverage, making it noteworthy. Hervey's whoring, less offensive for being commonplace and safely heterosexual, did not receive equal attention and did not merit noting. Even if Tooke misjudges Hervey's fame or allows moral disgust to interfere, his sensitivity to the vagaries of reader knowledge diverges from Grant's across-the-board explication. By identifying both Foote (464n) and Hervey, Grant implies that they were equally identifiable in the 1760s. But the source of Grant's identification of "H——", manuscript marginalia by Wilkes, says little about Hervey's fame beyond Churchill's social circle. By contrast, Tooke's approach hints that not all allusions were equally intelligible in the past: while readers knew enough to recognize "Foote" (or "F——", as the early editions print it), they likely lacked the knowledge to identify "H——" consistently.

Accuracy as Historical Inaccuracy

By suggesting that modern explanatory annotation can sometimes distort perceptions of how readers interacted with allusions, Tooke raises a larger question: how historically accurate are modern ideals of accuracy and relevancy in annotation? Not very, it appears. Not only did earlier readers not have access to the same kinds of information as scholars today, but they also did not especially care whether that information was accurate. Annotators tend to overlook how both the value and meaning of terms such as "accuracy" and "factual" are historically contingent, and how early

readers, as well as past editors annotating for them, may have been less scrupulous. When Tooke proposes probable identifications based on what he judges to have been public information in the 1760s, his unconcern for the accuracy of his information and sources parallels that of Churchill's audiences. Eighteenth-century papers were not known for their trustworthiness. Indeed, in a scandal culture, accuracy carries little esteem; as we realize from our own tumultuous media moment, far from confirming what the public knows, truthfulness in a context where the false, sensational, and politically opportune trumps the factual may hinder a story from circulating sufficiently as to shape public knowledge. Under such conditions, the most probable identifications for allusions may be unintended and incorrect ones. As we have seen, Churchill was not above tempting his readers to embrace falsehoods. Tooke may at times better capture the interpretations of Churchill's audience than Grant *because* the information Tooke gives is exaggerated or wrong.

To admit that being wrong can sometimes be right historically is not to accept relativism, which is to say, to accept an approach to annotation in which no identification for an allusion, however wrong or private, can be excluded.[11] Let us return to the identity of Statira. From *The London Stage* we know that Ross slept, as Churchill jokes, at the feet of two different Statiras: Bellamy and Ward.[12] Tooke's choice for Statira, Mrs. Palmer, played the role at Drury Lane in 1764–65 alongside William Powell. But for readers without such a resource and, more important, without the modern scholarly incentives to square Statira with the correct leading man, she could have been identified as Bellamy, Ward, Palmer, or maybe all three. Some "early" readers may have even recalled Maria Nossiter, who played Satira in 1757, or Isabella Mattocks, who had the role in 1767.[13] Marginalia in a copy of the eighth edition of *The Rosciad* confirms that someone other than Tooke also identified Statira as Palmer (fig. 3). Palmer would not be the accurate identification by modern standards, but in accepting

11. For intentionalist editing as a defense against relativism, see Howard-Hill 1998.

12. For the performances involving Ward, see Stone 1962, pt. 4, 2:782, 847, 924, 954, 1058, and 1105. For the performances involving Bellamy, see Stone 1962, pt. 4, 2:695.

13. For Maria Isabella Nossiter playing Statira opposite Spranger Barry at Covent Garden in 1757, see "For the Benefit of Miss Nossiter", 1757; for Isabella Mattocks playing Statira opposite William Smith at Convent Garden in March 1767, see Stone 1962, pt. 4, 2:1230.

> 30 THE ROSCIAD.
>
> Vet'rans they feem'd, but knew of arms no more
> Than if, till that time, arms they never bore :
> Like Weftminfter militia train'd to fight,
> They fcarcely knew the left hand from the right.
> Afham'd among fuch troops to fhew the head,
> Their chiefs were fcatter'd, and their heroes fled.
>
> *Sparks* Sp--ks at his glafs fat comfortably down
> To fep'rate frown from fmile, and fmile from frown.
> *Smith* (Sm--h the genteel, the airy, and the fmart,
> (Sm--h was juft gone to fchool to fay his part.
> *Rofs* (R--ss (a misfortune which we often meet)
> (Was faft afleep at dear Statira's feet ;
> *Mifs Pritchard; afterward Mrs Palmer.* Statira, with her hero to agree,
> Stood on her feet as faft afleep as he.
> *Machlin.* M--kl-n, who largely deals in half-form'd founds,
> Who wantonly tranfgreffes Nature's bounds,
> Whofe Acting's hard, affected, and conftrain'd,
> Whofe features, as each other they difdain'd,
> At variance fet, inflexible and coarfe,
> Ne'er know the workings of united force,
> Ne'er kindly foften to each other's aid,
> Nor fhew the mingled pow'rs of light and fhade,
>
> I No

Figure 3. Charles Churchill, *The Rosciad*, 8th ed. (London: W. Flexney, 1763), 30. EC75 C4756 761rh, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

the likelihood of some readers identifying Statira as Palmer doesn't mean all possible readings of Statira are equally valid. By Tooke's rule of "concurrent testimonies", Nossiter, Mattocks, and whatever private associations the name "Statira" might also have raised for readers in the 1760s would be

excluded. Tooke's trading of intention for public knowledge based on circulation as the basis for determining both what allusions receive notes and what those notes contain hardly leads into the abyss of relativism.

The question of Statira's identity also brings us back to the related problem of relevance in annotation. As Felicity Nussbaum observes, *The Rival Queens* produced many "lurid tidbits" for the papers, including the rumor that Bellamy, while playing Statira in 1756, was stabbed offstage by the actress Peg Woffington (2010, 78). Given the culture of scandal in England, one might speculate, contra Tooke, that more of Churchill's readers identified Statira as Bellamy than the other actresses because of Bellamy's irrelevant associations. Bellamy's supposed injury, together with her liaison with the politician John Calcraft and struggles with debt, made her a tabloid constant.[14] Either way, the example of Bellamy points to an additional function for Churchill's allusions, a function reflected in the supposed prolixity of Tooke's notes. In a recent article challenging the idea that allusions and gutted names helped satirists avoid legal reprisal, Andrew Bricker argues for such elements as instead stirring curiosity and "invit[ing] readers to be part of the construction of a scandal" (2014, 900). This is true, though I would add that textual gaps do more than permit readers to invent scandal by supplying names for the deeds described. The built-in vagueness of allusion also gives readers considerable room to revisit other scandals associated with the name or names assigned to a passage. In other words, interpretation changes in a gossip-mad marketplace: "information about the personal lives of people involved in important events substitutes for . . . the events themselves" (Spacks 1985, 67). Allusions permit readers to recall excesses unrelated to the immediate context of the reference, including, for instance, in Statira's case, Bellamy's debts and affairs. Tooke's meandering note on Arne's sexual predilections likewise imitates or embodies this play of association. To dismiss Tooke and other early annotators for commenting "when they have little of relevance to say", then, ignores how they, similar to the readers whose experiences they recover or represent, embraced the modern standard of relevance no more than that of accuracy. Irrelevant associations proved central to their reading experience.

The appeal of scandal was no less intense in the 1790s, when Tooke began to annotate Churchill. Reviewers of the 1804 *Poetical Works* appear to have ignored, tolerated, or enjoyed the irrelevancies of Tooke's notes, irrelevancies that only emerged as blemishes with the second edition of

14. "Bellamy, George Anne (1731?–1788)", *ODNB*.

1844.[15] Similarities abound between Tooke's presentation of Churchill and the gossipy satires of Tooke's own era, including Charles Pigott's *The Jockey Club* (1793), as well as such compendia of theatrical bon mots as *Harris's List of Covent-Garden Ladies* (1757–95) and Joseph Haslewood's *Secret History of the Green Room* (2nd ed., 1792). But if Tooke's contemporaries shared Churchill's readers' interests they did not possess the same stock of titillating anecdotes. Thus, some of Tooke's irrelevant notes appear to reflect his attempts to update old scandals for new generations. Among the many possible examples of such updating is Tooke's handling of Churchill's reference to the actor Richard Yates in *The Rosciad* (lines 345–46):

> [Yates] died suddenly . . . he was rich, and the disposition of his property being forcibly contested on the spot by his heir at law Thomas Yates, a lieutenant in the navy, a scuffle ensued between him and the friends of Miss Jones, the comedian's housekeeper and principal legatee, in which the former was unfortunately killed. At a trial at the Old Bailey . . . the jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter. (1:26–27n)

Such lurid inconsequentialities give Tooke's notes a news-reporting feel; trials and contested wills were staples of periodical gossip. In seeking to pique the interest of later readers, Tooke yokes Churchill's allusion to a more recent scandal, supporting the idea of audiences in 1761 and 1804 alike as using allusions to recall infamies only tenuously linked to the hinted-at persons.[16] Tooke also courts anachronism for similar reasons in his aforementioned note on Foote, as the sodomy charge against Foote only surfaced in 1776, years after Churchill's death. From his gossipy notes one might even infer that Tooke's own desire to participate in scandal culture inspired his edition.

If Tooke's notes are products of the 1790s, their value lies mainly in their approximating reading practices from the 1760s. A final proof of this emerges through a comparison of Tooke's printed notes with Thomas Gray's 1764 marginalia in his copy of Churchill's *Poems* (1763). A classically-educated poet, Gray is far from an "ordinary" reader by any definition. But in

15. Of the seven reviews of the 1804 edition that I have seen, only the *British Critic* questions the notes: "some [facts] may be erroneously stated" (Review of *The Poetical Works* 1805, 174).

16. For evidence of widespread interest in the trial, see the pamphlet, *The Trial of Miss Jones, and Messrs. Sellers and Footney, for the Murder of Mr. Thomas Yates* (London: A. Macpherson, 1796).

lacking ties to Churchill, Gray shares that reader's ignorance of intention; and since Gray annotated the poems for personal amusement, his notes presumably show better than Tooke's later, published remarks how actual readers interacted with Churchill's allusions. One is struck by the needlessness of many of Gray's handwritten notes. About Churchill's reference to "Sterne" in line 62 of *The Rosciad*, for example, Gray writes: "Lawrence [*sic*] Sterne Author of 'Tr. Shandy'" (Gosse 1918, 164). So gratuitous an explication confirms allusions as offering readers a game of identifying names, even obvious ones. Gray also reveals Tooke's gossipy remarks to be quite representative of reading at the time. As Table 1 shows, Gray's marginal notes on William Smith and Ross rehearse the actors' respective marriages and affairs, exceeding even Tooke in gossipy detail. By contrast, Grant's accounts of Smith and Ross from authentic sources miss the point. Tooke, not Grant, better approximates the eighteenth-century experience of reading Churchill's satire.

Coda: Annotation and Histories of Reading

"If we are to understand Churchill's popularity", writes David Twombly in 2005, we must recover his poetry's "historical specificity" by "bury[ing] ourselves in footnotes" (108). To this end, Twombly calls for "a new, more thorough edition" of Churchill (106n54). This would be a bad idea even putting aside the fact that piling up new, dense notes is unlikely to spur a renaissance in the study of Churchill or of any poet. If composed according to modern concepts of accuracy and relevance, such added notes would provide scant insight into what brought readers to Churchill beyond what is already clear from Grant's 1956 comments. As Tooke emphasizes, Churchill's popularity in 1760s England had much less to do with the provision of accurate and relevant identifications than we might expect. As a node or relay in a network of commodified gossip, Churchill's satires transmitted both gossip and the affect, the lure and disgust, such scandalous anecdotes inspired. By identifying allusions, readers confirmed themselves *au courant*, showing others that they were "in the know". The larger goal was social belongingness: "to keep up with the vogue information of culture is to maintain one's ties to . . . others who are doing their part to keep up as well" (Kaufer and Carley 1993, 67). In this context, the accuracy of an identification perhaps mattered less than one's ability to supply some, indeed any, name. Bellamy, Palmer, or Ward; Montagu or Potter; Hervey or someone else—as long as *a referent* could be supplied *the accurate ref-*

Table 1. Comparison of Thomas Gray's, William Tooke's, and Douglas Grant's Annotations.

Churchill's Allusion	Gray's Note	Tooke's Note	Grant's Note
William Smith in *The Rosciad*, ll. 627–29	"SMITH turned Player but at Tonbridge married Mrs Courtenay, a Widow Lady sister to the Earl of Sandwich. he had a good person but was a poor Actor" (GOSSE 1918, 168)	"He married a woman of fortune, and retired from the stage in the year 1788. . ." (1804, 41n)	Quotes a description of Smith from the *Theatrical Biography* of 1772 (1956, 468n)
David Ross in *The Rosciad*, ll. 629–32	"Ross, was kept by Fanny Murray, a famous Woman of the Town . . ." (GOSSE 1918, 168)	". . . [Ross's] defects were evidently owing to his love of ease and fondness for social pleasure . . ." (1804, 41n)	Quotes a description of Ross from the *Theatrical Examiner* of 1757 (1956, 468n)

erent was unimportant. Many of Churchill's allusions had to be accurate in order to stir curiosity, gain reader trust, and make the occasional false innuendos look true, but no similar constraint governed readers. Given that Churchill's appeal depended, even in ways that the poet was not fully aware, on the agency of readers eager to display their mastery of gossip, little would be gained by adding more annotations keyed to intentionalist notions of accuracy and relevance.

Adding traditional notes would also aggravate longstanding misperceptions of Churchill's satire. Tooke's connecting Churchill to scandal culture exonerates mid-to-late century satirists from the lingering charge that their highly personal poetry represents a decline from the general satire of Pope (see Wilkinson 1952; Lockwood 1979). While the increased directness of satire after the middle of the century is very real, Tooke reveals this personalization as exaggerated through blanket annotation. Where Tooke allows that past readers may have been unable to identify obscure allusions ("H——"), and opens the possibility that even some of the allusions he does annotate ("injur'd sons") may have been regarded as generalizations rather than allusions, Grant annotates everything, even for the sake of consistency references that he cannot identify. Hence Grant attaches 134 notes to *The Rosciad* compared to Tooke's eighty; modern readers walk away thinking of Churchill's poetry as more personal than it is. Nor is the quantity of notes alone to blame. In supplying only the single, most plausible referent in his notes, Grant obscures how many of Churchill's allusions can elicit multiple identifications and thereby achieve a kind of generality similar to that of Pope's satire. Recovering the "historical specificity" of mid- and late-century satires supposedly likewise focused on "individuals instead of their [public] actions" (Dyer 1997, 103) including poems by Churchill, William Gifford, and John Wolcot, requires not adding more notes but rather reading beyond the notes already there.

As unique as Tooke is in his presentation of Churchill's satires, more unique is how this framing challenges methodological assumptions in explicatory editing. Beside Grant's edition, Tooke's apparatus shows the potential for commentaries guided by concepts of accuracy and relevance to distort understandings of how past readerships interacted with texts. Bellamy's affair with Calcraft, Potter's rumored tryst with Gertrude Warburton, and Arne's supposed affair with Brent—all these anecdotes go largely unmentioned by Grant, who presumably regards them as false or irrelevant, notwithstanding that such stories probably loomed large in the

minds of readers.[17] In arguing that modern annotation can distort views of past reading, I intend to imply neither that notes impose on scholars nor that we would be better off working from unannotated texts, as has been argued by proponents of "un-editing" in Renaissance studies (MARCUS 1996). Notes do not stop scholars from asking whatever questions they want about reception, as the existence of the present essay confirms. In showing that Tooke's often inaccurate notes are at times more historically accurate than they seem, I also do not recommend that his approach be adopted today. Tooke's method, even if suitable to gossipy satire, would be problematic for other editorial ventures where it would be impossible to gloss allusions according to relative and utter obscurity. Tooke's value lies instead in his revealing how modern editorial ideas of authenticity and intentionality may block or undercut histories of reading. If Tooke's circulation-based rationale has anything to show practicing annotators, it is strictly the possibility of finding useful ways to annotate without conflating readers with authors or intended audiences, a possibility that grows daily as annotated editions migrate from the cramped printed page to spacious digital platforms.

The implications of Tooke's rationale for histories of reading extends well beyond the Enlightenment. Annotated editions already play a role in reception studies: analysts of highly topical texts must often depend on explanatory notes, even if these notes more reflect author-intended meanings than reader-created ones. So why not extend this role? Historians of reading often lament the dearth of accounts of reading habits from the past.[18] In lieu of such accounts, we might adopt explanatory notes from earlier eras as proxy measurements. Precisely because they seem so inadequate by modern standards, the notes in early editions offer clues to non-specialist reading habits in the past. Unlike Malone or the other scholar-editors on whom past histories of early editing have focused, reader-editors such as Tooke (solicitor), Thomas Evans (bookseller), and John Mason Good (surgeon), editors with limited schooling and little access to authorita-

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17. Grant identifies Brent (470n) but ignores the rumored affair. Grant refers to the rumor of Potter fathering Warburton's son Ralph (533n) only in a note to *The Duellist*, but Warburton is also mentioned in *The Ghost*, *The Candidate* (1764), and the *Dedication to the Sermons* (1765).

18. As William G. Rowland observes, "we simply do not know and cannot find out what most readers of the past thought about a particular book" (1996, ix).

tive documents, more closely resemble ordinary readers than professional editors.[19] Tooke is a reader of rare dedication, to be sure, but the gossiping quality of his notes, together with his eccentric sources, nonetheless reflects vogues of his time. Indeed, Tooke's published annotations likely started out as reading notes aimed to assuage his personal difficulties in reading Churchill. More than rogues or blunderers, early annotators should be seen to approach texts like other ordinary readers. By trading Small's "annotator as ideal reader" for a concept of "annotator as ordinary reader", we promise to gain new sources of information about past reading. Further, we stand to realize how gossip and innuendo sell poetry, a process that deserves to be more "*note-orious*".

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19. Thomas Evans, the annotator of Matthew Prior's *Works* (1779), had little formal training in editing. See "Evans, Thomas (1742–1784)", *ODNB*. The translator and annotator of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* (1805), John Mason Good was a surgeon and did not attend University. See "Good, John Mason (1764–1827)", *ODNB*.

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How to Think about EEBO

Michael Gavin

Abstract

This essay narrates a brief history of the Early English Books Online (EEBO) corpus, describing a convergence between bibliography, document imaging, and information science. Whereas literary scholars and book historians tend to express skepticism about EEBO and emphasize its limitations, this essay offers a revisionist and more optimistic perspective in hopes of clearing the theoretical ground for quantitative research.

Introduction

When the Text Creation Partnership (TCP) publicly released its "Phase I" documents of the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) collection in early 2015, the files posted to Github represented the culmination of decades of scholarly labor. By "decades", I refer not only to the now twenty-year history of the TCP itself, which began at the University of Michigan in 1999, but more fundamentally to the work that preceded the project and made it possible, some of which stretches back to the early twentieth century. EEBO sits at the intersection of several lines of disciplinary development and technological innovation and is one result of generations of work in bibliography, document imaging, and information science.

My purpose in this essay is take a brief walk along the paths of this winding history, with an eye toward the future. I'll focus on the creation of the Short-Title Catalogue and the microfilm collection it inspired, as well as on the invention of text-markup language, which structures the recently released EEBO documents. In particular, the EEBO-TCP sits at the nexus of three intellectual and institutional developments: 1) the creation of historically comprehensive bibliographies, 2) the remediation of large rare-book collections into microfilm, and 3) the conversion of that film into rigorously marked up transcriptions. These pieces of the project ("project", here, most broadly conceived) share several important assumptions and aspirations. Most importantly, they assume that knowledge about books

can be held by proxy. Whether through bibliographies or digital interfaces, books are abstract objects with representable attributes, and information about those attributes can be regularized into forms that enable comparison across large collections. They also jointly aspire to limited comprehensiveness and qualified transparency. Although by definition the information held in catalogues and digital archives is incomplete and prone to error, nonetheless its compilers hoped to communicate something like the totality of surviving English print.

The short-title catalogues provided a panoramic view into libraries across the world by creating a searchable surrogate for rare-book archives, and the microfilm and digital transformations that followed winnowed the scope of that view down to the pages of the books and, eventually, to their very words. The transparency and comprehensiveness provided by this surrogate is, of course, not *real*, but neither is it an illusion. The EEBO-TCP is more like a simulation or model of extant print. Bibliographic metadata fold documents into history, connecting them to libraries and authors, to booksellers, printers, and patrons. Descriptive markup in turn teases out the formal structure of those documents, identifying texts' individual parts and the relationships among them. The result is a vast and sophisticated model of historicity, textuality, and sociality.

Many elements of this history will be known to readers in the fields of book history and digital humanities, but the themes I'll touch on and the perspective I'll offer are not typical of discussion surrounding EEBO, in particular, or digital archives more generally. My primary intended audience includes scholars who are currently engaged in quantitative analyses of the EEBO corpus, or those who might be considering such work. Since 2015, my own research has been completely dependent on this collection, and I'm not alone. Now that we have tens of thousands of early modern documents available for computational analysis, it's worth pausing to ask what interpretive demands this collection poses, and the best way I know of to do this is to review the history of its creation. However, existing surveys tend to be written from the perspective of literary scholars or book historians, and so tend to focus on what was lost in the digitization process. Instead, I want to offer a more sympathetic way of thinking about the long history of bibliography and digitization, a way of thinking that opens the collection up as an object of study in its own right. Now that we have EEBO, what do we do with it? But before we can ask that question, we need to know where the files came from, what theories informed their creation, what features they have, and how they came be what they are.

Reading Machines: Bibliography, Microphotography, and the Simulated Archive

Beginning in the early twentieth century, bibliographers like A. W. Pollard, G. R. Redgrave, and Donald Wing compiled unified catalogues of rare books in British and North American libraries, providing an unprecedented level of transparency to the total archive of early English print. At the much same time, Eugene Power, founder of University Microfilms International (now ProQuest), was developing and popularizing a film-based technique for preserving newspapers and out-of-print books. Inspired by the information futurist Robert C. Binkley, Power hoped that new imaging technology could preserve cultural history while increasing public access to archival materials. In the late 1930s, as war loomed over Great Britain, Power received grant funding to photograph thousands of books deemed to have research value, thus providing the foundation and impetus for the *Early English Books* microfilm collection. After 1998, when the page images were online and the supporting bibliography was made available as a searchable database, demand for full-text search inspired the Text Creation Partnership, which formed the next year and quickly began its first phase of transcription.

The Short-Title Catalogue was first and primarily conceived as a "finding-list" for scholars who were then expected to consult paper copies of rare books in libraries across Britain and North America. Work on the initial catalogue took 8 years to complete, and was published in 1926 by The Bibliographical Society as *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*. The collaborative and distributed nature of their work can be glimpsed in the book's subtitle, which announces that it had been "Compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, with the help of G. F. Barwick, Geo. Watson Cole, Ethel Fegan, F. S. Ferguson, W. W. Greg, W. Jaggard, Stephen K. Jones, F. R. D. Needham, H. R. Plomer, Cecie Stainer, E. V. Stocks and others". From the first, the editors were careful to warn their readers that the catalogue did not represent, in any absolute nor even tentative way, a full record of surviving English print. They describe the project instead as a record of their own activities, as "a catalogue of the books of which its compilers have been able to locate copies, not a bibliography of books known or believed to have been produced".[1] Although they express the hope that

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1. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1926

they will be found to have included over 90% of extant titles and 80% of extant editions and issues, Pollard nonetheless reminds readers that "in so large a work based on such varied sources, probably every kind of error will be found represented, and those who use the book as anything more than a finding-list must be on their guard".[2]

Donald G. Wing continued this work more or less single-handedly in his catalogue, which was published after the war between 1945 and 1951 (revised 1972 to 1998), and which extended the scope of the bibliography from 1641 to 1700. Like his predecessors, Wing admonished his readers to approach the materials with care. A curious feature of these bibliographer's prefatory remarks is a tension between their professed desire for comprehensiveness and their worry that scholars might take their catalogues too much at their word. *Caveat lector!*, they warn. Especially on the matter of his catalogue's comprehensiveness, Wing is careful to caution readers, "Because a library is included it does not follow that all that library's holdings are listed. *This is not a census of copies*, but only a guide to inform scholars where a given entry may most conveniently be consulted".[3] The emphasis is original. On the exact same page, Wing adds, "I should repeat here the warning that this is not a census of copies, but rather an effort to locate copies available in various geographic regions". In the General Introduction, editorial committee chairman Benjamin Nangle reaffirms the point, in case it wasn't clear: "The user must always bear in mind that it is a *short-title* catalogue . . . not a census of copies, but rather an effort to locate copies in various geographical areas and thus to inform the scholar where he can conveniently consult a copy".[4] Their ambition was to provide a synoptic view into archives around the world, but they insisted that it must not be mistaken as a representative survey of surviving print. They worried that, because their short-title catalogues under-represent the number of actually extant copies, unsuspecting librarians might be hustled into paying higher prices by unscrupulous book dealers. For scholars, they took for granted that information in the catalogue must never be substituted for direct consultation of library copies and comparisons among them.

[reprint 1946]), xiii. Cited in Mak, "Archeology of a Digitization", 1518.

2. Pollard and Redgrave, *Short-Title Catalogue*, xvi.

3. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries, 1641–1700*. Printed for the Index Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), ix, emphasis original.

4. Benjamin Nangle, "General Introduction", in Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue*, v, emphasis original.

Perhaps oddly, the bibliographic catalogues that form the basis for so much work in English literary history have from their inception been enshrouded with a curious rhetoric of their own disavowal. Pollard, Redgrave, and Wing all openly worried about the potentially deleterious effects their work could have on their unsuspecting peers. Expressions of this concern remain popular among book historians and other critics, for whom the myth of the uncritical scholar retains powerful appeal, though nowadays it's usually associated with the online version. Recent essays by Stephen Tabor, Ian Gadd, Bonnie Mak, and, most recently, Kathryn Sutherland and Marilyn Deegan have warned about how inattention to the history of the STC threatens future work. Echoing concerns voiced eighty years before by Pollard, Gadd cautions that "students and scholars often tacitly, but wrongly, assume that EEBO represents the printed record in its entirety".[5] Mak avers that readers are "encouraged to overlook as inconsequential the material history" of the archives.[6] Sutherland and Deegan insist that "a digital copy of a print copy is never more than a partial copy", while worrying that "most of us, seasoned scholars and students new to historical research, are blind to their inadequacies".[7] For Tabor, this lack of critical self-awareness manifests as a generational divide: "The younger generation of scholars in particular, lured by full-text images and ransacking the Web for illustrations for their books and articles, are using these utilities as de facto bibliographic databases".[8] *Kids today . . . with their Snapchat, their Tinder, and their EEBO!*

5. Ian Gadd, "The Use and Misuse of Early English Books Online", *Literature Compass* 6, 3 (2009): 680–92. Gadd continues, "EEBO is obviously aiming to provide a useful scholarly mechanism in terms of searching but by doing so are implying — albeit not deliberately — that the record and the copy are one and the same thing" (687). Such comments are not only wrong, they border on slander. Nowhere do the editors of EEBO make so patently false a claim, nor is it ever explained how they could possibly do so by implication. In this comment, Gadd deploys a strategy typical of EEBO's critics, which is to impute their own (presumptively superseded) naiveté onto the project they pretend to critique.

6. Bonnie Mak, "Archaeology of a Digitization", *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 65, 8 (2014): 1519.

7. Kathryn Sutherland and Marilyn Deegan, *Transferred Illusions: Digital Technology and the Forms of Print* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 133.

8. Stephen Tabor, "ESTC and the Bibliographic Community", *Library* 8, 4 (December 2007): 368.
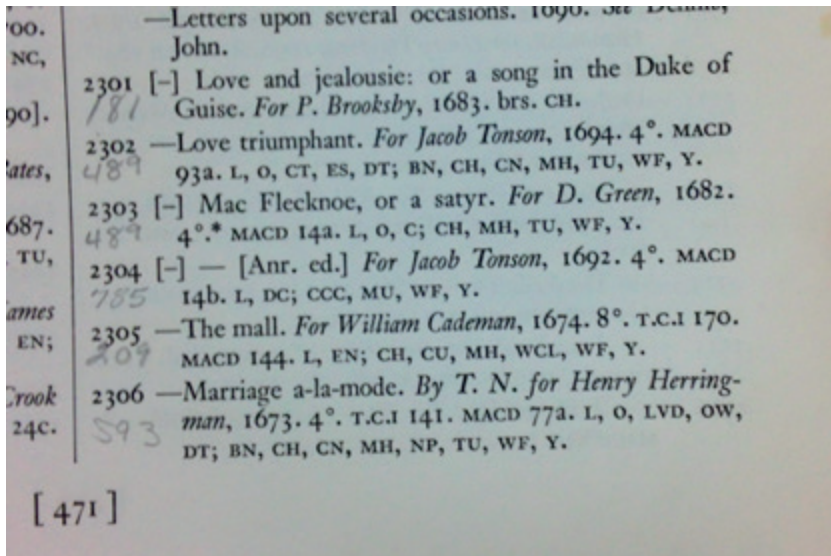
Figure 1. Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue* (1945). Notice the marginalia. In this copy, owned by the University of South Carolina, entries have been manually cross-referenced with each item's *Early English Books* microfilm reel number, leaving a physical trace of the indexing function Wing's catalogue would perform once it was combined with a searchable collection of images.

The irony here is that these latter-day skeptics impute onto the digital interface an act of abstraction that was already inherent to the catalogues in the first place. Unified bibliographies like the Short-Title Catalogue offered scholars a new and radically different way to experience library archives: not as a collection of rare books but as a compilation of metadata already powerfully abstracted from the paper, cardboard, and leather on the shelves. As Wing and Nangle insisted, short-title catalogues gather disparate information from multiple sources, each differing significantly from every other but nonetheless grouped into unified bibliographic entries: it is neither a census of copies nor a catalogue of library holdings. A short-title catalogue presumes that variations — among copies, re-prints, or re-issues — can be implied by each entry without being directly represented. For example, the Wing entry for John Dryden's *MacFlecknoe* takes up just a few lines, listing two entries, 1682 for D. Green, and another edition ("Anr. ed".) in 1692 for Jacob Tonson, while providing abbreviations for a few libraries around the world that held copies in 1945. (Figure 1.) The abbreviation

MACD refers to the still-definitive 1939 bibliography of Dryden's works, by Hugh MacDonald, where *MacFlecknoe* is registered as items 14a and 14b.

Echoes of Wing's bibliography can be found in the TEI headers of EEBO-TCP's documents. (Figure 2.) The EEBO-TCP edition of *MacFlecknoe* is composed of 12 kilobytes of XML data and 5 TIFF images, scanned from microfilm (position 8 in reel 785 of the *Early English Books* collection). Notice how thoroughly integrated into the bibliographic tradition the file is: corresponding identification numbers in Wing, ESTC, and EEBO allow users to cross-reference the metadata with print and digital sources. (A quick examination of the record in ESTC lists thirty repositories where physical copies might be found for comparison.) Information about the print source is included as well, drawn from Wing and ESTC. The film was photographed from a copy owned by Duke University Library, where it was bound with *Absalom and Achitophel* and *The Medal*, though that binding is not represented in the film nor, therefore, in the scanned images. The book was drawn from the later edition (14b in MacDonald) that was printed in London in 1692 for Jacob Tonson, though the work may have first appeared to the public as part of Dryden's works, published in 1693 and 1695.

Contra assertions that digital representation somehow occludes attention to physical realities outside itself, the metadata of the XML file is designed to be integrated with print resources. It highlights areas of uncertainty and it notes oddities in the source copy, at all times inviting users to be mindful of variations that may appear across the 30 copies known to exist. Of course, none of this can be assumed to be complete nor perfectly trustworthy. Despite the best efforts of catalprint and archivists, errors certainly crept in, perhaps even in this very record.

Comprehensive enumerative bibliographies like the Short-Title Catalogue (or like the headers drawn from TEI collections) thereby invite a very strange reading practice, though perhaps it's been so naturalized since the information revolutions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that it no longer feels strange. To read an entry from the STC is to project one's imagination outward to libraries across Britain and North America, where items (probably) exist that are likely to share many of the characteristics described, but which are also presumed to exhibit variations not represented in the entry. Bibliographic catalogues provoke a kind of sublime experience, an awareness of ambient textuality, whispering: *Books like this, but different, exist.* This sublimity is most clearly reflected in the terrestrial admonishments of the bibliographers themselves, who insist with raw certainty that the books to which their books refer are real, and fragile and

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  </titleStmt>
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    <edition>
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    </edition>
    </editionStmt>
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    <idno type="OCLC">ocm 13429983</idno>
    <idno type="VID">99523</idno>
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financial support to the Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership. This Phase I text is available for reuse,
according to the terms of <ref target="https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/">Creative Commons
1.0 Universal</ref>. The text can be copied, modified, distributed and performed, even for commercial purposes, all
without asking permission.</p>
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      <pubPlace>[London :</pubPlace>
      <date>1692]</date>
     </publicationStmt>
     <notesStmt>
      <note>A satire against Thomas Shadwell.</note>
      <note>Imperfect: title page wanting.</note>
      <note>Imprint from Wing.</note>
      <note>It is not certain whether this is a separate issue or whether it originally formed part of v. 4 of Dryden's
works, which were issued with collective title page by J. Tonson in 1693 and again in 1695.</note>
      <note>Originally published in 84 p. with Absalom and Achitophel and The medal, which are lacking in filmed
copy.</note>
      <note>Reproduction of original in Duke University Library.</note>
     </notesStmt>
    </biblFull>
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Figure 2. The <fileDesc> element from the TEI header for *MacFlecknoe*. EEBO-TCP A3664

scarce and plentiful, and irreducible to the abstractions of their articulation. It's reiterated by EEBO's critics, who surrender to this sublimity while throwing stones at the digital artifacts that stimulate it.

After 1926 and 1945 when the first short-title catalogues were published, something like the total reality of the print record could for the first time be glimpsed through the panoptic gaze of the catalogue, even if this view was by proxy and therefore by definition partial, abstract, and potentially misleading (and limited to English books printed before 1700). We might call this gaze a kind of "distant reading", and indeed STC records have proved fruitful ground for statistical analysis.[9] But for Pollard, Wing, and later commentators, their awareness of the catalogues' extraordinary potential as a new form of reading-like knowing registered only as a concern about its limitations, its abstractions, and its propensities for error. Hence their insistence that the catalogue be used solely as a finding aid. Critical authenticity must continue to reside in the individual scholar's consultation of paper-based books in actual archives, not in the mere "topographic map" provided by bibliographies.[10]

The advent of microfilm promised (threatened?) to render such consultation obsolete, or at least unnecessary in all but the most specialized cases. The figure most commonly associated with this development in discussion of *Early English Books Online* is Eugene Power, an early proponent of microphotography for book preservation, dissemination, and on-demand printing. EEBO as we know it comes directly out of his work.[11] (Figure 3.) Power is an interesting figure. In many ways he represents the ideal of twentieth-century masculine subjectivity — even his name seems lifted from an Ayn Rand novel. Liberal Republican turned Democrat, Eugene Power was an entrepreneur and philanthropist who without irony promoted his private corporation as a public good.[12] He sat on many corporate boards and supported a wide range of liberal political causes. Always hoping to be in tune

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9. ESTC data is often used by book historians as a proxy for book-trade activity, with all the usual caveats. See, for example, Steven N. Zwicker, "Is there such a Thing as Restoration Literature?" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, 3 (2006): 425–49.

10. Tabor, "ESTC and the Bibliographic Community", 368.

11. Power's work leading up to the creation of EEBO is usefully summarized in Mak, "Archaeology of a Digitization", 1517–19. See also his autobiography, *Edition of One* (UMI Press, 1990).

12. For Power's life, see his autobiography, written with Robert Anderson: *Edition of One: the Autobiography of Eugene B. Power* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1990).
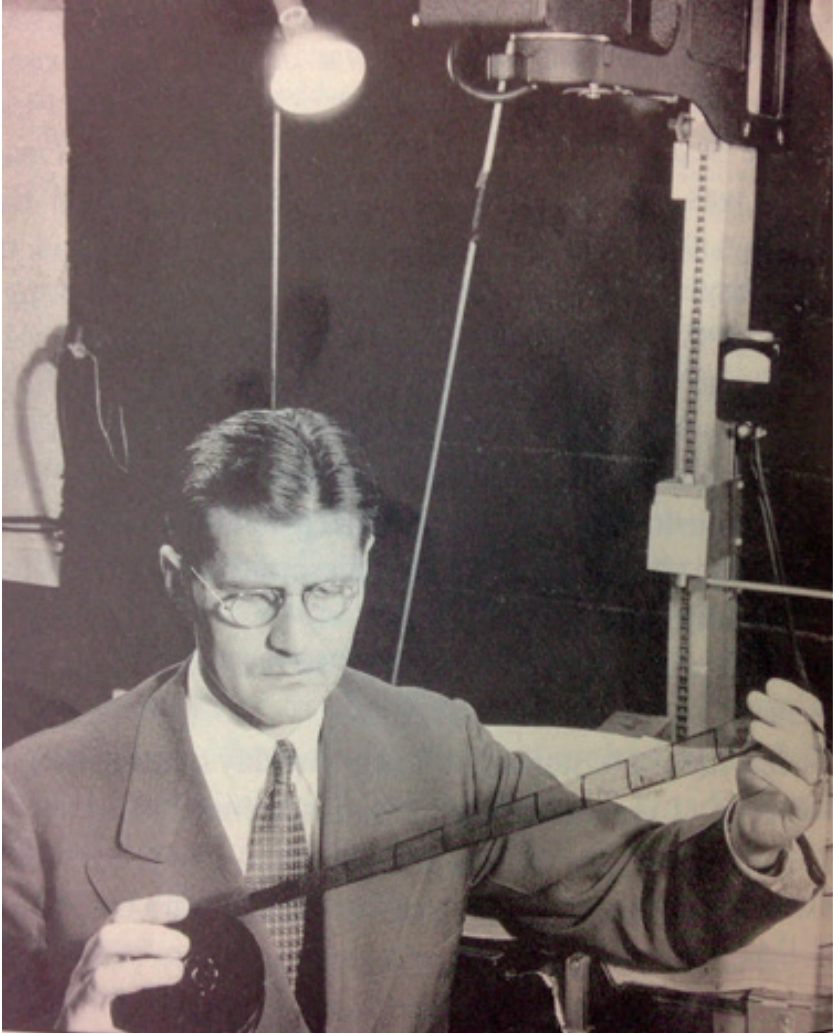
Figure 3. Eugene Power. *Edition of One*, p. 92.

with the needs of scholars and academic institutions, who were his most important customers, Power maintained a long association with the University of Michigan, and his publishing company, now named ProQuest, remains a major partner of university libraries.[13]

13. In fact, Power's business was so intimately connected to the University of Michigan that he briefly served on the Board of Regents until 1966, when the state's

But to understand Power's career requires tracing this history back one step further, to Robert C. Binkley. In the 1930s Binkley was a young Stanford-trained historian but he already had been appointed to an important post with the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies. Writing in 1958, Power recalls first meeting Binkley at a symposium in 1931, in which Binkley argued that the "deterioration of wood pulp and sulphite papers" would, within two centuries, leave "little by way of permanent records". Power describes Binkley's intellectual force in glowing terms: "For the small group of young men who sat at his feet and felt the force and excitement of his ideas, he is unforgettable, and through some of us his work goes on".[14] Concerned that nineteenth-century paper was dangerously ephemeral, Binkley urged his adoring audience to embrace microphotography as its replacement. We now know that this threat of decay and deterioration was exaggerated, but in the 1930s it motivated a massive effort to develop new technologies for document management.[15]

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attorney general forced him to resign because of potential conflict of interest. Power describes these events in *Edition of One*, including an appendix that contains documents related to his resignation.

14. Eugene Power, "O-P Books, A Library Breakthrough", *American Documentation* 9, 4 (October 1958): 273.

15. Nicholson Baker has argued that this fear of imminent deterioration was not well founded, and in fact most forms of paper are actually easier to preserve than film. See *Double Fold: Libraries and the Assault on Paper* (New York: Random House, 2001). For an overview of Binkley's career, see Max H. Fisch's introduction to the *Selected Papers of Robert C. Binkley* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948); Kenneth Carpenter, "Toward a New Cultural Design: The American Council of Learned Societies, the Social Science Research Council, and Libraries in the 1930s", in *Institutions of Reading: The Social Life of Libraries in the United States*, ed. Thomas Augst and Kenneth Carpenter (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press), 283–309; and Lisa Gitelman, *Paper Knowledge: Toward a Media History of Documents* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014). Perhaps because of his influence on Power, whose work became so important to the humanities, Binkley is often mentioned in this regard, but he was by no means the only major proponent of microfilm in the early twentieth century. G. Watson Davis, whom Power mentions only in passing, is often cited as a more important figure in the sciences. Davis's parallel activities are described in Alistair Black and Dave Muddiman, "The Information Society Before the Computer", in *Early Information Society: Information Management in Britain before the Computer*, ed. Alistair Black, Dave Muddiman, and Helen Plant (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2012), 18–23.

The speech that Power heard likely included an argument that Binkley would publish a few years later in the *Yale Review* as "New Tools for Men of Letters".[16] According to Binkley, twentieth-century scholars faced a unique situation in the history of knowledge. The sheer volume of collected written matter meant that more information was available than ever before, but the increased specialization of academic labor meant that individual researchers needed access to smaller and smaller portions of this increasingly massive whole. Printing, which since the hand-press era enabled the creation of thousands of copies, needed to be replaced by a technology that could handle greater volume while targeting individual texts to much smaller audiences. His essay is worth quoting at length:

> The relation of the scholar-reader to the books on the library shelves has been changing. The body of documentation that was once the common ground of all learning and culture has lost its cohesion. And it has become a relatively unimportant element in the total bulk of publication. Today the Western scholar's problem is not to get hold of the books that everyone else has read or is reading but rather to procure materials that hardly anyone else would think of looking at. This is, of course, the natural consequence of the highly specialized organization of our intellectual activity. As a result, so far as Western culture is concerned, the qualities of the printing process that began in the fifteenth century to make things accessible have now begun in our different circumstances to make them inaccessible. When many if not all scholars wanted the same things, the printing press served them. In the twentieth century, when the number of those who want the same things has fallen in some cases below the practical publishing point (American Indian language specialists are an illustration), the printing press leaves them in the lurch. Printing techniques, scholarly activities, and library funds have increased the amount of available material at a tremendous rate, but widening interests and the three centuries' accumulation of out-of-print titles have increased the number of desired but inaccessible books at an

16. This essay has enjoyed a second life in the twenty-first century as an analog precursor to the techno-futurism of Internet enthusiasts. Lisa Gitelman writes, "More so than most of his peers, Binkley had a keen sense of living amid a continually accumulating and imperfectly preserved historical record, a sea of documents, the great recent accumulation of which was in jeopardy both because the necessary commitment to stewardship was lacking and because of the nineteenth-century switch from rag-based paper to less durable stock" (*Paper Knowledge*).

even greater rate. Scholarship is now ready to utilize a method of book production that would return to the cost system of the old copyist, by which a unique copy could be made to order and a very few reproductions supplied without special expense.[17]

It's worth noting here an underlying similarity between Binkley's concerns and those of bibliographers like Pollard and Wing. The accumulation of out-of-print books promised greater accessibility to the world's knowledge, but this accumulation had coincided with institutional and economic developments that heightened demand for rare material. Demand exceeded libraries' ability to communicate information out, creating a bottleneck in research activity. Bibliographers approached this problem in a relatively narrow, tactical way, designing aids for scholars who hoped to wade into this great mass of documentation, while at the same time urging those scholars to stay mindful of their catalogues' inadequacies. For Binkley, the only conceivable solution was strategic and technological. With its comparatively cheap production and storage costs, microphotography promised to resolve print's contradictions and to meet the needs of institutions and individuals both.

The potential for microfilm to condense and cheaply reproduce massive amounts of information captured the imaginations of many writers during this time, when information science as an academic discipline (and IT as an "institutional desiring engine", in Alan Liu's phrase) was just beginning to gain public attention.[18] Librarian Fremont Rider argued in *The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library, A Problem and Its Solution* (1944) that libraries should replace their holdings entirely with micro-card readers.[19] Rider even invented a genre of film-based storage, called Microcard, that achieved modest success during the 1950s before being beaten out by rival formats.[20] In 1945, Vannevar Bush's futurist essay, "As We May Think",

17. Robert C. Binkley, "New Tools for Men of Letters", in *Selected Papers of Robert C. Binkley*, ed. Max H. Fisch (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 182.

18. Alan Liu, "The State of Digital Humanities: A Report and Critique", *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 11, 1–2 (February/April 2012): 9. Kenneth Carpenter emphasizes microfilm's important place within the institutional ecology of the 1930s in "Toward a New Cultural Design".

19. Fremont Rider, *The Scholar and the Future of the Research Library, A Problem and Its Solution* (New York: Hadham Press, 1944)

20. For an overview of Rider's career, see Martin Jamison",The Microcard: Fremont Rider's Precomputer Revolution", *Libraries & Culture* 23, 1 (Winter 1988):

Figure 4. Recordak Microfilm Viewer, ca. mid-1960's. University Archives
Photograph Collection, University of Wisconsin, Eau-Claire.

1–17. Rider comes in for special ridicule by Nicholson Baker, who quips that
his "enduring achievement was to convince the heads of research libraries that
it was somehow embarrassing to add more low-cost storage space" (*The Double
Fold*).

appeared in *The Atlantic*, regaling readers with the tale of a "memex" machine that could condense millions of microfilmed records and easily retrieve them using a process of associative selection that would mimic human consciousness.[21]

Competition was fierce to bring this vision to reality, and reading and recording devices like Kodak's "Recordak" machine promised modern efficiency and style. (Figure 4.) When confronted by actual users, however, microfilm reading machines developed a reputation for being difficult to learn and straining to use. By the 1970s, one commentator remarked that the "reluctance of most readers to use microfilm or other microform is too well known to argue".[22] Nonetheless, development of microfilm was generously supported by government and other non-profit initiatives, who doled out hundreds of millions of dollars in grant funding for the creation of film-based archives and the installation of machines to access them.[23]

Back in 1935 in Michigan, Eugene Power's innovation was to repurpose the Short-Title Catalogue as an index for microfilm reproduction. According to Power, "It seemed to me that photographing STC books would be an ideal trial, since the collection was extensive, some 26,000 titles, and demand for them would be certain: American libraries, having been established relatively recently, were generally lacking in STC titles".[24] With 16 institutional subscribers, Power began microfilming select books, chosen for their likely research interest to American scholars.[25] As World War II approached, however, concerns about preservation became paramount, and in 1940 the American Council of Learned Societies declared that microfilming rare materials and storing those reproductions safely in America was an urgent priority. Power won a $30,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to photograph six million pages of early English books, all selected from the Short-Title Catalogue. Although the microfilming process would continue from the mid-century heydays through the 1990s, it got its impetus during this moment of global conflict, when British libraries and the entirety of early English print faced very real physical danger.

21. Vannevar Bush, "As We May Think", *The Atlantic* (July 1945).

22. Rolland E. Stevens, "The Microform Revolution", *Library Trends* (January 1971): 388.

23. Details of this history are told, with a punchy and indignant tone, by Nicholson Baker in *Double Fold*.

24. Power, *Edition of One*, 28–29; partially cited in Mak, "Archeology of a Digitization".

25. These developments are described in Mak, "Archeology of a Digitization".

For Power, microfilm was bound up in Binkley's vision for micropublishing, and he long considered its most important application to be on-demand production of out-of-print books, what he called the "edition of one". In the 1950s, combining microfilm with Xerox printing made it economically feasible to singly produce bound copies of books. Power hailed this development as a major breakthrough in information technology. He writes:

> The history of the written word has gone full circle: from the single manuscript copy to the limited editions of the early printers; to the big editions of modern printing technology; to the smaller editions of offset and mimeograph; and back to the single copy edition of an O-P [out-of print] Book. For the first time, through the proper use of 35mm microfilm, the full history of our culture can be preserved and stored at low cost and, when copies are needed, they can be produced in any desired quantity at rates scholars can afford.[26]

The archival scope of microfilm preservation, Power believed, provided an information base for producing (and selling) relatively attractive paper copies of books that could facilitate familiar reading styles (Figure 5). This idea remained a small but important part of UMI's business model, and in 2010 ProQuest began offering bound prints from the Early English Books collection for sale on Amazon and other retailers. The publisher's blurb that accompanies all EEBO Editions prints could have been written by Power himself: "Imagine holding history in your hands. Now you can. Digitally preserved and previously accessible only through libraries as Early English Books Online, this rare material is now available in single print editions. Thousands of books written between 1475 and 1700 can be delivered to your doorstep in individual volumes of high quality historical reproductions".

On-demand printing may be a service that scholars and other readers sometimes find useful, but most readers of this essay, I suspect, will share my sense that it's rather beside the point. If information technology just winds up in your hands as a printed book — if we have merely "gone full circle" to where we started — something hasn't gone right. When emphasizing its uses for on-demand printing, Power reduced the *Early English Books* collection to a marketing mechanism that simply brought difficult-

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26. Power, "O-P Books, A Library Breakthrough", *American Documentation* (1958): 276.
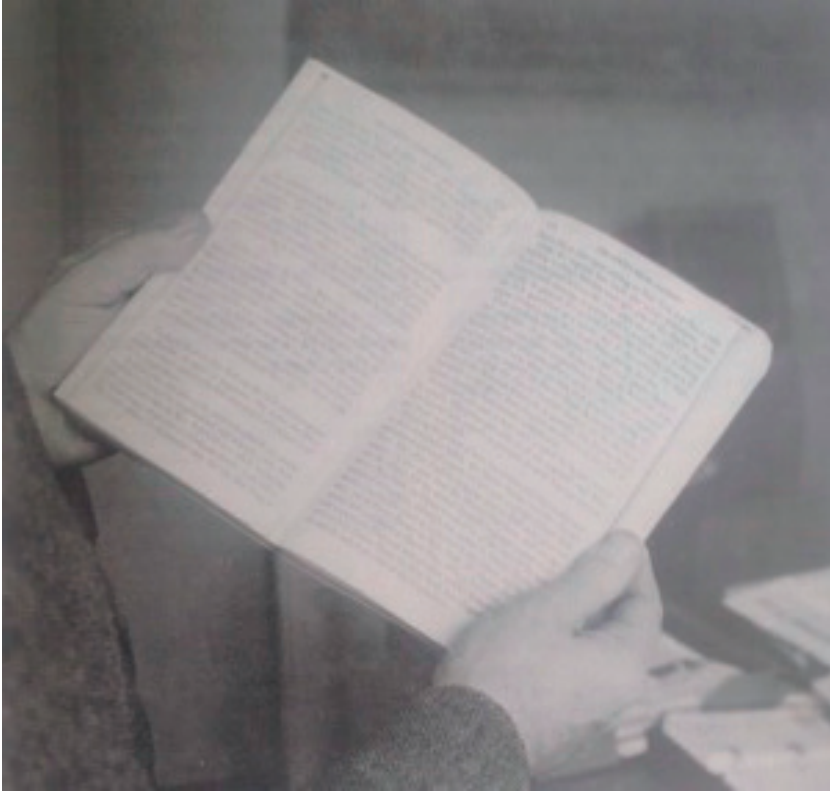
Figure 5. A single-copy edition of an out-of-print book, printed by Xerox from the *Early English Books* microfilm collection. From Power, "O-P Books, A Library Breakthrough" (1958).

to-find products into the hands of his customers. Power's mistake, if I may call it that, was to misunderstand the gulf that separates the reading styles facilitated by microfilm from those that involve the more familiar (and more physically comfortable) act of handling bound paper. In this sense, Power makes exactly the same mistake that bibliographers like Pollard and Wing made when describing the Short-Title Catalogue as a finding aid. All seem to assume that the most important outcome of their work would be to facilitate reading in conventional ways. They hoped to put human-shaped protein bags in direct physical contact with book-shaped rag pulp.

Much more important was the Short-Title Catalogue's capacity for giving scholars a sense of "what there was", even if that sense is, as they

insisted, ontologically incomplete. The catalogue provided a record system that made library holdings visible and therefore accessible. That visibility depended on translating archives to historical points of reference outside themselves: to authors, titles, imprints, catalog numbers, libraries, etc. Catalogues fold archives into history by layering them with historical metadata. Microfilm inserts page images into this data structure; it textures the sublime biblioscape with images, such that *Books like this, but different, exist* could be experienced anew as *Pages like this, but different, exist.* Catalogues abstract books from the shelf and treat metadata as proxies for them. Microfilm reconfigures this metadata as the index of a new archive, still pointing outside itself, but providing also an internally coherent proxy for rare books. This was the primary intellectual innovation of *Early English Books*: it re-purposed the STC as an index of an image collection. No longer a mere finding aid, the STC became an authoritative mechanism over which search queries could be performed from virtually any university library.

When the *Early English Books* microfilm collection was digitized in the 1990s, its index was transformed into a computer database, which whetted the scholarly appetite for more advanced search capabilities.[27] "EEBO's presentation of the ESTC metadata in database format made it possible to rapidly search citations for particular words or phrases and then access images of the texts indicated. Scholars soon sought to perform similar searches on the full texts of the works in this corpus".[28] ProQuest collaborated with the University of Michigan to solicit support from partner libraries, and in March 2000 a working group was tasked with deciding how the documents would be transcribed and encoded.[29] The group decided on a simple but rigorous descriptive markup, providing more than mere transcriptions, but leaving the documents open to adaptation. As we'll see, the move from page images to descriptive markup entailed yet another transformation in reading practices and textual form, as well as an altogether new conception of textuality as such.

27. The compilation of EEBO's metadata involved ingesting information from various sources. For a succinct review of this process, see "History of Early English Books Online", *Folgerpedia*. http://folgerpedia.folger.edu.
28. "History of Early English Books Online", *Folgerpedia*.
29. Rebecca Weizenbach, "Transcribed by hand, owned by libraries, made for everyone: EEBO-TCP in 2012". http://hdl.handle.net/2027.42/94307

The Invention of SGML and Its Adoption
by the Text Encoding Initiative

Digitization rendered clunky microfilm machines obsolete while further easing search and the manipulation of page images. Even when digitized, however, the texts themselves — that is, the words actually printed in their sequences — remained invisible to the database's organizing structure, which was constrained by the physical forms of the books and their pages. The purpose of the Text Creation Partnership was to remedy this problem by remediating the books once more: this time by transcribing the page images and performing a basic descriptive markup that would enable full-text searching and online reading, while also generating tables of contents automatically. According to Rebecca Welzenbach, "For EEBO-TCP, the purpose of adding markup is to replicate the structure of the book, so that a user who does not have access to the page images or the original book will still be able to make sense of the text. Although of course all markup is interpretive, the aim has been to capture what is on the page, not to add new information".[30] In this comment, Welzenbach gestures toward a set of problems long familiar to digitally trained humanists, at least in the field of literary studies. Text markup puts into tension three tightly related bibliographic problems: first, to determine the overall structure of a text; second, to evaluate the relationship between that structure and the physical layout of printed or written pages; and third, to justify the sometimes uncomfortable interpretive decisions that need to be made while editing. She also hints at the tendency, again among literary historians, to defer to page layout as the primary guiding authority.

The EEBO texts were encoded in TEI P3, the standard for digital editing that prevailed in 2000 when the Text Creation Partnership began work. TEI is or should be deeply familiar to all readers of this essay, but it's worth reviewing some of its history and theory to explain how descriptive markup intervenes in the continuing transformation of historical textuality.

The development of TEI was a large, interdisciplinary scholarly project, but the person most directly responsible for laying its intellectual and technological foundations was Charles Goldfarb, inventor of SGML. I sometimes describe Goldfarb as the most important literary theorist English professors never heard of. Goldfarb's career spanned from the 1960s through the early 2000s, during which time he designed and helped popularize a form of markup that would be adopted as the International Stan-

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30. Rebecca Welzenbach, "Transcribed by hand".

dard (ISO 8879) language for structured data and document representation. This markup language — which is really, as we'll see, a metalanguage of textuality — provides the basic information infrastructure of electronic communications.

Much like Power, Goldfarb worked in industry at the outskirts of academia. A Harvard-trained lawyer, Goldfarb left the law in 1967 to work for IBM on document management and production. Inspiration for markup language came when he was hired to install a computerized typesetter for a Boston-area newspaper. Because newspapers have to produce large amounts of text on a tight daily schedule, typesetters developed a practice of using style sheets to guide production. Rather than write out instructions for formatting every element in an article, editors would label articles' parts (headline, byline, caption, etc.) and then the typesetters would associate those categories with their appropriate formatting instructions.[31] Goldfarb's basic insight follows this practice to separate a text's formatting from the definition of its parts, allowing documents to be shared across software systems and, later, providing the basic structure of HTML and TEI. Since 2007 when Microsoft adopted a similar XML format for its Office suite, virtually all electronic texts have been built on the principles Goldfarb learned from watching newspaper typesetters.[32] (Book historians may find here a delicious irony. The centuries-long practice of composing type — the history of typesetting from early print compositors to twentieth-century newspaper editors — inspired the underlying design of the electronic applications that supposedly superseded print.)

In 1969, Goldfarb began a project that applied these principles to legal documents, not only to allow formatting instructions to be shared across printing systems, but also to expose various parts of each document to a common vocabulary for searching. Rather than maintain a separate database for case numbers, dates, plaintiffs and defendants, marked up case files allowed for direct searching across any of these variables. According to Goldfarb's biographer: "His idea was to treat different aspects of the document as data elements instead of as content. In this way, each legal document was actually a database of all its parts, with formatting code to

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31. For Goldfarb's biography, see "Charles Goldfarb, Inventor of SGML", in *The Internet: a Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Hilary W. Poole (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 1:126–31.

32. Goldfarb's idiosyncratic personal history is not the only important connection between print typesetting and computerized document management. See also the work of editor and typographer Stanley Rice, in particular his *Book Design: Text Format Models* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1978).

describe each part of the text".[33] Working with Ed Mosher and Ray Lorie, they developed this idea into a schema they called Generalized Markup Language (GML), an acronym that "not coincidentally" corresponded to their own initials.[34]

Over the next decade, generalized markup was used increasingly by IBM for their own internal documentation and published materials. Goldfarb and others began developing GML into a rigorous standard for document production, and they submitted it to the American National Standard Institute (ANSI) in the late 1970s. GML was quickly picked up by the International Organization for Standards (ISO), and in 1986 it was published as ISO 8879/1986. GML became SGML, Standard Generalized Markup Language.[35]

Goldfarb's 1981 essay, "A Generalized Approach to Document Markup", should be required reading for all aspiring digital humanists, and indeed for anyone interested in text theory or computer remediation. Later adopted as the introduction to the ISO 8879 standard (Annex A), this essay lays out the basic theory that informs the design of virtually all electronic documentation. Though written in a flat style that emphasizes the theory's practical applications, Goldfarb's short essay puts forward a highly sophisticated model of textuality. He presupposes a separation, much like the distinction between "form" and "content", that distinguishes strings of words from the rules used to process those words for printing and display. Markup serves two purposes, he says: "it separates the logical elements of the document; and it specifies the processing functions to be performed on those elements".[36] What cultural theorists call "entextualization" Goldfarb calls "text processing": that is, the social and technological procedures that segment discourse into textual objects.[37]

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33. Poole, "Charles Goldfarb, Inventor of SGML",128.
34. Charles Goldfarb, *The SGML Handbook*, ed. Yuri Rubinsky (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 568.
35. Goldfarb, *The SGML Handbook*, xiv–xv. See also Charles Goldfarb, "The Roots of SGML — A Personal Recollection", *Technical Communication* 46, 1 (1999): 75–83.
36. Charles Goldfarb, "A Generalized Approach to Document Markup", *ACM SIGPLAN Notices* 16, 6 (June 1981): 68.
37. In his account of oral transmission among indigenous Brazilian peoples, anthropologist Greg Urban defines "text" most generally as any "segmentable linguistic form": that is, a text is a sequence of linguistic objects that are differentiated from their context and marked out as a common unit. "Entextualization, Replication, and Power", in *Natural Histories of Discourse*, ed. Michael Silverstein and

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.sk 1                              :p.
Text processing and word           Text processing and word
processing systems typically       processing systems typically
require users to intersperse       require users to intersperse
additional information in          additional information in
the natural text of the document   the natural text of the document
being processed.                   being processed.
This added information, called     This added information, called
'markup,' serves two purposes:     :q.markup::q., serves two purposes:
.tb 4                              :ol.
.of 4                              :li.it separates the logical
.sk 1                              elements of the document; and
1.¬it separates the logical        :li.it specifies the processing
elements of the document; and      functions to be
.of 4                              performed on those elements.
.sk 1                              ::ol.
2.¬it specifies the processing
functions to be
performed on those elements.
.of 0
.sk 1
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Figure 6. Procedural and descriptive markup compared. From Goldfarb, "A Generalized Approach to Document Markup".

Goldfarb begins by noting that all computerized documents require additional language, hidden from human readers, to allow machines to recognize documents' formal features. This supplementary code, or "markup", conventionally contained instructions for how texts should be displayed. Goldfarb refers to this as "procedural" markup, because it contains instructions for text formatting. The code on the left in Figure 6 shows his example

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Greg Urban (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 27. Entextualization is a process best exemplified by oral transmission, as stories are told, memorized, and re-told in a dynamic interplay between the metadiscursive features of the text (e.g., author, genre) and the social formations that police such features and give them meaning. Entextualization is therefore a process by which linguistic objects representing tradition are replicated through mechanisms of power. This most general view of textuality conforms broadly with histories of authorship in the field of print, specifically having to do with questions of copyright and censorship. See Mark Rose, *Authors & Owners: The Invention of Copyright* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Joseph Loewenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); and Jody Greene, *The Trouble with Ownership: Literary Property and Authorial Liability in England, 1660–1730* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005). It also describes very well editorial and digitization projects like EEBO.

of procedural markup: .sk 1 means to insert one blank line; .tb 4 means to insert a tab of four spaces, and .of 4 creates a matching hanging indent for the numbered list of items. By contrast, the markup on the right includes no such processing instructions. Instead it is "descriptive" markup that identifies the text's basic structural features: :p. means that what follows is a paragraph, :q. segments a quotation from the main text, while :ol. and :li. identify, respectively, an ordered list and its list items. Notice how some things in the main text have been removed. The quotation marks that surround the word "markup" on the left are taken out, as are the numbers in the list itself. This has the practical benefit of allowing for greater flexibility: "The list items", Goldfarb explains, "might be numbered in the body of a book, but lettered in an appendix".[38]

The other important feature of GML is its rigorous generalization. Textual features like paragraphs and ordered lists are familiar and common, and so the :p. and :ol. elements described in 1981 have remained more or less unchanged in most applications over the intervening 35 years. However, authors and editors can't be constrained by existing textual forms, and so they often require different elements or wish to define existing features differently. Rather than attempt to define an exhaustive set of possible text elements, GML makes it "possible to advise the system about the attributes of any type of element the user creates. This is done by creating a formal definition, or 'model'. . . . While the markup in a document consists of descriptions of individual elements, a GML model defines the set of all possible valid descriptions of a type of element".[39] What this means is that an element like an ordered list (:ol.) can be defined as an element that contains list items (:li.), and list items can be defined as elements that contain words, or, in GML-speak, "character data". All elements can be assigned attributes that the editor defines — chapters might be numbered, sonnets might be required to contain exactly fourteen lines, images might have height and width. The markup in any individual document is "rigorous" because it's validated against these rules. The markup is "general" because the rules themselves are user-generated. GML isn't a language of document markup, really, but a guiding framework for editors to create their own textual schemes.

In GML, both the model that defines a text's features and the rules that guide its format are abstracted from the character data, from the ostensible "content" of the text. I use scare quotes here because Goldfarb does as well.

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38. Ibid., 70.
39. Ibid., 71.

He uses the term very circumspectly. Containment is the defining meta-phor of markup: documents contain lists, lists contain items, items contain words. And so on and so on. . . . The formal features of a subelement are the content of the parent element. Goldfarb explains,

> "Content" is, of course, a primary attribute, and is the one that the sec-ondary attributes of an element describe. The content consists of an arrangement of other elements, each of which in turn may have other elements in its content, and so on until further division is impossible. One way in which GML differs from generic coding schemes is in the conceptual and notational tools it provides for dealing with this hierar-chical structure.[40]

According to this definition, the string of words that make up a line of poetry aren't what that line is. Instead, those words are the value of an attribute of an object, called <line>. (I switch now to using modern angle-bracket < > notation, which is far easier to read.) Just as a <person> might have attributes like <height> and <birthplace> with values like "1.94 meters" and "Winnipeg", so too a <line> element might have attributes like <number> and <character data> with values like "14" and "I am not I; pity the tale of me". The <line> isn't the string of words that humans read as a line of poetry, but a data object that bears as one of its attributes the fact that it contains characters, and that has this particular string of characters for the value of that attribute. Those words don't add up to a <sonnet> except through the intervening formal features determined by the editor, who configures these elements in a hierarchical tree structure, for which the rules are set in a separate file and which, after processing, is invisible to the reading eye.

In the wake of ISO 8879's 1986 publication, SGML was quickly rec-ognized by scholars as a potentially valuable tool for building electronic editions and as an illuminating theory of textuality in its own right.[41] By

40. Ibid., 70.
41. See Joan M. Smith, "The Standard Generalized Markup Language (SGML) for Humanities Publishing" *Literary & Linguistic Computing* 2, 3 (1987): 171–75. Though she gestures quite broadly toward a wide range of possible applications, Smith understood SGML's value primarily in its capacity for supporting differ-ent output, and her description of its potential impact is reminiscent of how Binkley and Power described microfilm: "The important thing is that the text is retained, in a data base, where it may be updated at will (without affecting cross-references since it is the application software that specifies these at the output

the early 1990s, SGML had already accumulated a significant academic following.[42] Scholars like Michael Sperberg-McQueen at the University of Illinois and Allen Renear at Brown University worked to reconcile markup with text theory and scholarly editing.[43] According to Renear, the fact that generalized markup provided "so many different kinds of advantages, seemed to some people to suggest that it was not simply a handy way of working with text, but that it was rather in some sense deeply, profoundly, *correct*".[44] Under descriptive markup, the text is reimagined as an "ordered hierarchy of content objects" in which any text can be defined as an ordered sequence of parts, each of which is composed hierarchically of constituent parts. A play is made up of a certain number of acts that occur in a certain order; each of those acts is made up of a certain number of scenes, and each of those scenes by a certain number of speeches; the speeches are made up by words, which in turn are made up of characters.[45] The sequence and the hierarchy determine the structure of the text — indeed, any text. Descrip-

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stage). Different sheets may be applied to it; it can be used for different purposes and output on different media (including microfiche and compact disk). Books can be published in accordance with different house styles, both European and American if different editions are required. Subsequent editions can be brought out as and when necessary or desirable, and there can be extractions of certain elements" (173).

42. See Robin Cover, Nicholas Duncan, and David T. Barnard, "The Progress of SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language): Extracts from a Comprehensive Bibliography", *Literary & Linguistic Computing* 6, 3 (1991): 197–209.

43. For probably the best early overview of markup as a tool for literary editing and analysis, see C. M. Sperberg McQueen, "Text in the Electronic Age: Textual Study and Text Encoding, with Examples from Medieval Texts", *Literary & Linguistic Computing* 6, 1 (1991): 34–46. For a description of the OCHO model, see Steven J. DeRose, David G. Durand, Elli Mylonas, and Allen Renear, "What is a Text, Really?" *Journal of Computing in Higher Education* 1, 2 (1990): 3–26; as well as the revision to the theory in Allen Renear, Elli Mylonas, David G. Durand, "Refining Our Notion of What Text Really Is: The Problem of Overlapping Hierarchies", in *Research in Humanities Computing*, ed. Nancy Ide and Susan Hockey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 263–80.

44. Allen Renear, "Text Encoding", in *A Companion to Digital Humanities*, ed. Susan Schreibman, Ray Siemens, John Unsworth (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), original emphasis.

45. These "characters" differ starkly, of course, from the characters of the play, who according to TEI are represented either using <speaker> elements or by providing @who attributes for <sp> elements. In either case, and in most cases, the TEI represents personality (and, arguably, personhood) as metadata to text

tive markup works as well as it does because it identifies that hierarchy, making it explicit and available for systematic processing.

Identifying the "logical structure" of discourse and differentiating that structure from the "processing instructions" that render it as a document, to return to Goldfarb's original formulation, was not always so easy. Once the task shifted from authoring new documents with customized elements to using SGML as a metalanguage for describing already existing documents, the practical problems involved threw new light on the underlying theory. Think of it this way: when scholars edit historical texts into TEI, they have to choose tags for documents that are already published, and so they are essentially reverse-engineering those documents, trying to imagine the best-possible descriptive markers that might have informed their original production, had SGML existed at the time. (Digital editing really is a gloriously absurd intellectual activity!) Typically, and this has been the case with the EEBO-TCP, it means choosing elements that will reflect back something like the formatting of the page layout of the source copy.

There's no reason why print format has to be the guiding authority, however. The whole premise of GML was to allow users to define their own textual models. For Goldfarb, this meant that the system could be universally applicable and interoperable: "text processing" named a set of protocols for converting character data into documentation. For literary critics, however, this extensibility meant something very different: markup promised a textual system explicitly sensitive to the unbounded possibilities of interpretation. Whereas a literary scholar might choose to tag a play's act and scene divisions, a linguist might leave those out and focus instead on a grammatical analysis of each sentence. (More on this below.) In either case, the structure of the text is determined by an element set that is chosen by the editor and defined in a separate file. In SGML (now XML), every text becomes an archive of its own parts, but the principle of differentiation among those parts is necessarily extrinsic to the text. A file containing marked up character data is therefore never identical to the text, as such. The "text" in a literary sense, or the "document" in Goldfarb's, is the result of a process that imposes structure from the outside and realizes discourse through that structure. For this reason, markup language is not so much a theory of text as a theory of entextualization.[46]

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sources. See http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/examples-sp.html.

46. Though they don't put it in quite these terms, Renear et al. make a similar argument in "Refining Our Notion of What a Text Really Is".

Within months of its adoption as an international standard, humanists began to think about how they might use SGML to set guidelines for editing electronic texts. In November 1987, Nancy Ide, a computational linguist at Vassar College, led a meeting sponsored by the Association for Computers and the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Humanities that established a set of protocols for these guidelines, what came to be known as the "Poughkeepsie Principles":

> The Poughkeepsie Principles define two functions for the guidelines: to recommend a format for interchange of texts, and to recommend principles and practices for the encoding of new texts. Existing archives have large investments in their existing schemes and will have no motive for converting the storage format of their holdings. But they are keenly interested in reducing the number of other formats from which and into which they must translate their texts, by helping develop and support a single common format for interchange. Scholars working to encode new texts — many of them novices in computing with no investment at all in any existing scheme — will benefit from having some guidance about what textual features to encode and how to encode them.[47]

The Text Encoding Initiative was formed to address these needs. Its initial advisory board was international and interdisciplinary. Computational linguistics was represented by Donald Walker, Clifford Lynch, Antonio Zampolli, Scott Deerwester, and others (including Ide). Representatives of major academic associations included Joseph Hollander and Randall Jones (MLA), Peggy Brown (AHA), Susan Hockey (ALLC), Anne-Maria di Sciullo (CLA), and so on. Michael Sperberg-McQueen joined the project as the TEI's editor.

When the first board meeting convened in Chicago in 1989, Lou Burnard presented SGML to the group. After walking his audience through the basic structure of SGML's metalanguage, he pointed out several problems that would face the initiative: "all existing SGML applications are for producing, not for analyzing, documents", even though scholars are most interested in analysis, and "real documents have more than a single document hierarchy", and so will present numerous analytical and interpretive challenges. "But despite its problems SGML is a great step forward for markup and a solid base for our work", he concluded, adding, with char-

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47. C. M. Sperberg-McQueen, "Minutes of Advisory Board Meeting, Chicago, 18–19 Feb 89". TEI ABM1. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/AB/abm01.gml>

acteristic flair, "God did not bring us into this world and give us minds in order to choose, while writing, between roman and italic type".[48]

God, it seemed, had brought them into the world to design element tags (or, at least, God brought them to Chicago). This task was divided among several working groups. The Text Documentation group was formed to design a scheme for metadata about the files and their sources, which was the relatively easy part of the project, because they could imitate protocols developed for library catalogues. More challenging were the tasks of the other two main groups. The Text Representation group sought to develop a set of standard tags for representing the formal and bibliographic features of paper-based documents, and the Text Analysis and Interpretation group designed tags for linguistic and thematic markup.

The Text Representation working group was chaired by Stig Johansson and included Burnard and Sperberg-McQueen, as well as David Chesnutt, Steven DeRose, Susan Hockey, Elli Mylonas, William Ott, and Manfred Thaller. (Basically, a who's who of 1990s markup theory.) They were charged with considering "techniques for encoding all the information explicitly present in a copy text on the physical or graphetic level", such as quotations, topographical and layout information, figures and captions, and lineation, as well as structural features like chapters and paragraphs.[49] In its first meeting, the working group noted "the need to cater for the description of existing printed or manuscript texts", while acknowledging that "some users of the scheme would be interested in the physical description of a source, others in its logical structure and yet others in the relationship between the two".[50]

The Analysis and Interpretation group was "responsible for all interpretive material not conventionally represented physically in an edition", with an emphasis on transcriptions of spoken language, syntax, and interpretive features like style, theme, and content.[51] In 1990 they distributed a survey among literary scholars (receiving about 40 responses), who strongly agreed on the importance of marking up bibliographic information and the basic structural features of a text, but who were hesitant to endorse other kinds of annotation. When asked whether tags should include gram-

48. TEI ABM1. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/AB/abm01.gml>
49. Minutes of the meeting of the temporary Steering Committee. Pisa, 12–13 December 1987". TEI SCM01. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/SC/scm01.txt>
50. Burnard, Lou, "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Text Representation Committee of the Text Encoding Initiative Held at the University of Toronto, 6 June 1989". TEI TRM1. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/TR/trm01.tex>
51. TEI SCM01. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/SC/scm01.txt>

matical information, the respondents were ambivalent. One person averred that "Emphasis must be on flexibility, and avoiding any hint of prescription which would encourage the tail to wag the dog". Another remarked, "While this is not important to the ways in which I see myself using an electronic text, it might be important to a linguist". When asked whether markup should include interpretive information about the texts, noting features such as "narrative vs. expository passages, direct and indirect discourse, point of view, themes, images, [or] allusions", more than half responded with an emphatic "no". One person acknowledged the potential but explained the challenges such an effort would face:

> Any coding should work to loosen the web of the text and encourage its multivalence to be exploited in a non-print medium. Exciting potential here, I'd have thought. How can coding facilitate the exposition of multiple levels of, say "point of view" or the complexity of "themes", without constricting them? Can coding be sufficiently sensitive to maximize the examination of tensions between, say, overt levels of meaning, and, perhaps covert or subverted/-sive levels caused by dislocations within the varying "points of view" (authorial intended, historically and culturally conditioned, skewed by time, class, gender, race, etc. or the sheer slipperiness of the signifiers themselves) or between such semantic levels and acoustic/semiotic/paralinguistic levels?[52]

The interpretive possibilities of generalized markup promised to "loosen the web of the text and encourage its multivalence", but it was hard to imagine any actual coding scheme that wouldn't feel constraining.

These considerations were echoed in 2000, when a new task force was formed, this time by the Text Creation Partnership, to evaluate the TEI guidelines and choose a basic coding scheme for the Early English Books transcriptions. They noted that "if number of texts, length of project, and amount of money available are fixed, the level of encoding is constrained".[53] For this reason the coding scheme for EEBO-TCP tends to emphasize page-format information and basic document-structure features, concluding that "it is better to do less, than to do wrong or mislead" and that "all encoding decisions should allow for enhancement and avoid tag abuse". The files

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52. Paul Fortier, "Literature Needs Survey Results", 22 January 1991. TEI AI3 W4. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/AI/ai3w04.txt>

53. DTD Working Group Notes", Text Creation Partnership. <http://www.textcreationpartnership.org/dtd-working-group-note/>

would be divided into a <teiheader> and <text> elements that formed the core structure of each document, putting metadata and textual information in the same file but keeping them distinct. Major divisions in the text would be marked with numbered <div> elements, including poetry, which would organize all lines into line groups using <lg> tags. Page breaks would be noted with <pb>, and all marginal notations would be designated with <note> elements. All font shifts would be noted using the <hi> highlight element, without specifying among italic, gothic, and other fonts.

By sidestepping some of the more finely grained possibilities offered by the TEI guidelines, the EEBO-TCP editors avoided the complex interpretive decisions markup sometimes provokes, but by deferring to page layout as the guiding authority they also made things simpler for the coders themselves, who were working from scans of the Early English Books microfilm. Over the next fifteen years, EEBO files were sent in monthly batches to two third-party vendors, Apex CoVantage and SPi Global, whose employees performed the actual transcription and markup.[54] Files were prepared and reviewed by editorial staff at the University of Michigan, whose work was overseen by the project director, Paul Schaffner.[55] As texts were selected for transcription, the goal was to provide as comprehensive a sample of EEBO as possible, covering all major periods and genres.[56]

By 2010, the first phase of 25,000 texts had been transcribed and marked up. Sponsoring organizations enjoyed a five-year embargo on the tran-

54. Both Apex CoVantage and SPi Global are media companies that provide government, academic, and corporate clients with "content solutions", which include digital publishing and producing XML documentation. See <http://apexcovantage.com/content-solutions/solutions/> and <http://www.spi-global.com/content>. Transcriptions were performed by anonymous coders working in India.

55. Welzenbach, "Transcribed by hand, owned by libraries, made for everyone: EEBO-TCP in 2012".

56. Some bias may have crept into the selection. Because the vendors charged by the page, not by the title, there was a consistent bias towards documents that were comparatively short, as well as toward documents that were in English. Very long books with less obvious research value to historians — like long legal dictionaries — tended to be excluded to allow for a greater variety of shorter titles. Just as was true of the short-title catalogues, the EEBO-TCP should never be confused with a complete model of actually extant print. Schaffner explained this process in a meeting at the Folger Shakespeare Library, during their 2015 NEH-funded institute, "Early Modern Digital Agendas: Advanced Topics". <http://folgerpedia.folger.edu/EMDA2015_Curriculum>.

scriptions, which were released to the public on Github in January 2015, along with small sample collections from Eighteenth-Century Collections Online and Evans. Work has continued on the "Phase II" titles, which, when released from copyright in 2020 (hopefully), will bring the total collection to a little over 60,000 files, representing about one-third the total number of surviving titles. Pending some extraordinary breakthrough in OCR software, this is likely for the foreseeable future to be the corpus through which English history is measured.[57]

Conclusion: The Death of the Document

When I began my PhD program in 2005, it was still common to speak of "the death of the author" as a relevant event in intellectual history. My professors sometimes said things like "Since the death of the author . . ." in the same way journalists would say, "Since 9/11 . . ." The phrase evoked a sense of traumatic, epochal shift that divided time into a before-and-after — the present became a shared *Neuezeit* marked by crude emblems of affiliation.

On October 26, 1992, Charles Goldfarb proclaimed an altogether different death. The SGML conference was held in Danvers, Massachusetts that year, attracting a record attendance of 275 participants. Goldfarb delivered the keynote address. He began by expressing cautious optimism about SGML's success but warned that vendors of proprietary software would always have an incentive to push for system-dependent data representations. According to Michael Sperberg-McQueen:

> Moving to his main theme, Goldfarb proclaimed the death of the "document", which he said may in fact never have been anything more than a makeshift to enable the use of computer technology. The future of SGML lies in its use to link both within and between documents . . . He showed medieval pages (from the Winchester Bible) and discussed the division of labor among scribes, rubricators, illuminators, and applicators of gold leaf, which corresponds closely to the division of labor, in presenting a hypermedia document today, among the text displayer, the graphics presentation software, and other specialized modules.[58]

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57. Laura Mandell has spearheaded the Early Modern OCR Project, which seeks to address this problem. See <http://emop.tamu.edu>
58. C. M. Sperberg-McQueen. "Trip Report: SGML '92, Danvers, Mass". <http://cmsmcq.com/1992/edr2.html>

Another attendee summed up Goldfarb's thesis like this: "The world of the isolated single document is dead".[59] What literary theory proclaimed as a shift from "text" to "hypertext" was figured rather differently by Goldfarb. The "document" was the organizing unit of discourse for information technology, but the very architecture that made documents visible to computer systems profoundly undermined their coherence, offering not so much a new form of documentation as a platform for multiple information streams. By comparing hypermedia to illuminated manuscripts, Goldfarb seems to be envisioning something like a webpage with streaming content.

Yet, the death of the document can be seen in the EEBO-TCP corpus too, where "titles" are a similar kind of makeshift. As a unit of discourse, "titles" are inherited from library catalogues but are used to render character data up for manipulation and analysis, even though such analysis often dissolves the boundaries of the titles themselves.

It is the combination of enumerative bibliography and text transcription and markup that makes the EEBO-TCP a resource of such unique power. A TEI-encoded file is a textual form unlike any other; the invention of this genre was an extraordinary intellectual accomplishment that remains under-appreciated. When combined with the archival research of the short-title catalogues (themselves scholarly projects of the highest quality) the result is a collection of files — files, not documents nor texts — that fold discourse into history in a remarkable way, combining "real life" sociological information about names, books, places, and dates, with the formal and lexical features of the texts that record that information. Scale is absolutely essential here. It matters that these projects aspired to comprehensiveness. The most interesting applications of corpus linguistics depend on a sufficiently large word base to get real interpretive traction, and EEBO-TCP provides a very large base. But, again, it isn't just a big corpus. The EEBO-TCP files provide a highly structured body of data that make possible analysis over any number of social or textual configurations.

The archive of early print is now remediated as a collection of networked particulars. Everything (that is, everything included in the model) is connected to everything else, at both the supra-textual levels of biographical and geographical metadata, as well as at the sub-textual levels of parts, down to the individual words and characters. Each item in the collection exists in relation to every other and is therefore available for re-formulation as data. This structure allows words, persons, and places to be represented

59. Michael Popham, "SGML '92 Conference Report, by Michael Popham". <http://xml.coverpages.org/sgml92.html>

in commensurable numeric forms that navigate elegantly among history's conflicting and overlapping ontological registers. Sometimes the data can be used to represent the career of an author (or a printer or bookseller or politician, or any group thereof). Other times it can stand in for large epistemic shifts. Still other times it can be made to represent the books themselves, or the places where those books circulated, or the readers who read them.

Of course, just as with any form of study, asking different questions involves provisionally accepting different assumptions and navigating different pitfalls. The mistake that literary historians make most routinely is to assume that explanation requires a consistently applied metaphysics — that words and matter and time exist in a knowably true relation, and so ideas that violate one's favored ontology are therefore simplistic, ideologically dubious, or just plain wrong. Computational textuality dispenses with this comforting but debilitating assumption. If I may venture to speculate: such metaphysical rigidity is quite possibly the real reason quantification makes so many scholars uncomfortable.

But to return to the story, in a nutshell. Catalogues took books off the shelves. Microfilm took pages out of books. Transcription and markup freed words from the page. Collection and standardization dissolved those words into data. Early print's realization as data opened a new horizon of study that we're still just beginning to survey.

The horizon itself was glimpsed early on. Among the members of the first advisory board of the TEI was Scott Deerwester, who represented the Association for Computing Machinery's Special Interest Group on Information Retrieval (ACM/SIGIR). At the first meeting in Chicago in 1989, as the members of the board went around the room introducing themselves, Deerwester described his own interest in TEI as an extension of his work designing algorithms to search over bibliographic records.[60] Full-text search, he said, raises a new question for information retrieval: "What are we retrieving?"

Now that we have EEBO in full-text form, what do we do with it?

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60. TEI ABM1. <http://www.tei-c.org/Vault/AB/abm01.gml> Deerwester would go on to be known as one of the inventors of latent semantic analysis — a technique that teases out the major themes in a collection of documents, much like "topic modeling".

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Material Approaches to Exploring the Borders of Paratext[1]

Sirkku Ruokkeinen and Aino Liira

Abstract

This paper studies the interplay of text and paratext using late medieval and early modern printed and manuscript sources. We argue that the paratext framework should include a distinction between the abstract and material notions of text, as it is the features of the material text which help identify intersections between text and paratext. Three elements, namely enlarged initials, notes, and type- and script-switches, are analysed to show how paratextual elements are often layered, and may have both textual and paratextual functions at the same time. What results is a complex network of elements in different textual and paratextual relationships.

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1. Textuality and Paratextuality

1.1 Introduction

Introduced in the 1980's by the French literary theorist Gérard Genette, the term *paratext* refers to a variety of textual and visual elements such as titles, notes, advertisements and prologues, which exist to present the text to readers and guide them in its interpretation (Genette 1997b). The concept, adopted in various fields since Genette, brings to the forefront the relationship between the text proper and these largely marginalized features of the book and offers fresh insights into the research of the textual and the material object alike. However, substantial questions in paratextual theory are still in want of an analytic approach, especially in relation to textual theories. Theoretical considerations on paratextuality are relatively scarce, consisting mainly of scattered case studies focusing on the exploration of textual or material aspects of individual texts, tackling

1. Both authors contributed equally to this work. We would also like to thank Dr. Elise Garritzen for commenting on an early version of this article.

theoretical and terminological issues only when they cause trouble in the interpretation of the chosen materials.[2] Nevertheless, the identification of paratextual matter has major implications for scholars and editors of historical texts, for instance; therefore, we believe that further discussion on the nature of paratextuality is in order.

This article contributes to paratextual theory from the perspective of textual studies. We map the borders of paratextuality by analyzing three textual and visual elements, namely initials, changes in typography/script, and notes, in late medieval and early modern material. The chosen elements overlap with the main text but nevertheless seem to have paratextual functions. Our analysis is based on the investigation of the following set of questions: 1) What is the role of initials as a part of the paratextual typology, considering their double role as text and image? 2) What is the role of typeface/script in identifying paratextual elements? 3) What is the position of notes in the paratextual typology?

We discuss previous contributions to the understanding of paratextuality in Section 1.2. Section 2 presents the primary sources used in this study. In Section 3, we discuss the three questions listed above, and in Section 4 we develop our findings into a theoretical discussion on paratextuality, suggesting that the feature "optionality" and the interplay of function and (visual) form should be given more prominence in defining paratextuality.

1.2 Background

Paratext is divided into two categories, *peritext* and *epitext*, based on the spatial proximity of the paratextual elements to the text (GENETTE 1997b, 4–5). Peritext refers to those elements within the book which guide the reader in the reading and interpretation of the text. These include, for example, titles, blurbs, and indexes. Epitext exists outside the covers: elements such as advertisements, author interviews, and library catalogues contextualize the work in the textual environment even before the reader encounters the text. Ultimately, both peritext and epitext have the same function: to present the literary work, which Genette refers to simply as *text* (see e.g. GENETTE 1997b, 1).

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2. That is not to say that this approach cannot produce significant theoretical contributions. Note, for example, the field of translation studies, where the problematic concept of authorship in paratextuality has been recontextualized in translation (see e.g. TAHIR-GÜRÇAĞLAR 2002; TOLEDANO BUENDÍA 2013).

While some extrapolations of paratextual theory have been made which take into consideration the changing materiality of text, the implications of the changes in book production processes in medieval and early modern times have been mainly studied by historians of early print.[3] Even more scarce are studies that focus specifically on paratextual theory and terminology in the light of historical textual traditions (but see ALLEN 2010). Further exploration of the theory is needed to clarify the position of the framework in terms of textual studies, manuscript studies and book history, among others.

We argue that addressing paratextuality requires a careful consideration of the notions of *text* and *work*, as their problematic relationship transfers to the relationship between text and paratext. Thoroughly debated in connection to textual criticism and editorial theory (see e.g. GREETHAM 1999; TANSELLE 1989; SHILLINGSBURG 1986), the concepts continue to challenge scholars studying and editing medieval and early modern texts — especially 'non-literary' texts such as utilitarian or scientific writing (see e.g. VARILA 2016; MARTTILA 2014). The variety of definitions for these concepts is compounded in paratextual studies by the fact that Genette's position on the terminology is left somewhat unclear (for critique on this issue, see ROCKENBERGER and RÖCKEN 2010). The definition of text offered by Genette is intrinsically connected with his notion of work: "A literary work consists, entirely or essentially, of a text, defined (very minimally) as a more or less long sequence of verbal statements that are more or less endowed with significance" (1997b, 1). Such a definition, however, proves problematic as it does not take into account that *text* exists on more than one level, the most important of the divisions being that between material and abstract levels of text (see GENETTE 1997b, 14 for a discussion on the influence of paratext on the materialization of the book; cf. Birke and Christ 2013, 68–69). We believe it most functional to follow Tanselle in making a distinction between *texts of works* and *texts of documents* (1989). The former refers to an abstract or ideal form of the text, and the latter to text in its material state, the specific order of words (and other marks) as preserved on a physical medium (see also SHILLINGSBURG 1986, 46–51). This study focuses on the material level, that is, the texts of documents, and we use the term *codex* to denote the combination of material text and

3. Changes in the present-day materiality of the text have been studied by BIRKE and CHRIST 2013. For print history, see e.g. von AMMON and VÖGEL 2008, BARKER and HOSINGTON 2013, SMITH and WILSON 2011. For pre-print era, see e.g. MAK 2011, JANSEN 2014, CIOTTI and LIN 2016.

peritext. When necessary, we refer to *work* as a collective of abstract versions of text which has no material existence of its own.

Genette's approach to paratextuality has mainly concentrated on the location and form of individual elements, offering only the most abstract of collective definitions as to the overall functions of paratextual elements: paratext exists to present the text (GENETTE 1997b, 12, 407; for a more thorough criticism of the approach, see STANITZEK 2005, 27–42). Birke and Christ have addressed this gap with three paratextual functions which they use to capture the complexity of relationships between text and paratext (2013). The *interpretive function* refers to the paratexts' functionality in directing and aiding the reader in understanding the work "correctly". The *commercial function* refers to aspects of paratextuality serving the text's distribution and dissemination in the world. Finally, the *navigational function* operates in paratextual elements which guide the reader in the utilization of the textual content.[4] We find this division highly practical and have adopted Birke and Christ's functions in our analyses.

Finally, we wish to point out that Genette's focus is on those paratextual elements which are, more or less, spatially separate from the text, i.e. not located within the main text area (for criticism of this focus, see MERVELDT 2008, 192–93). For example, typography and its relevance to paratextuality have only been briefly touched upon (GENETTE 1997b, 33–36). Stanitzek has connected this issue with Genette's complex relationship with material and abstract notions of text (2005). As reflected by his definition of *text* quoted above, Genette commonly discusses text on the level of ideal and abstraction, dependent on the author, while his description of paratext arises from the perspective of materiality, proceeding from the placement, production, and form of each paratextual element.[5] Because of this approach, elements which appear in the same space as the text fall outside

4. While there are certain paratextual elements which could be considered stereotypically interpretive (prologues, footnotes), commercial (ISBNs, publisher information), or navigational (pagination, indexes), most paratextual elements carry, to some extent, two or all of these functions. Blurbs, for instance, act in commercial functions in promoting the book, but also in interpretive ones, employing literary conventions to contextualize text within a specific genre.

5. This can be seen in Genette's use of the term *allographic*, which originates from a consideration of arts as divided into those which are produced by the artist's own hand, such as paintings (autographic), and those which are somehow mediated, as literature is through text (allographic) (see also MACKSEY 1997, xvi–xvii, n10). The division is especially problematic in the case of autographic footnotes (see Section 3.3).

the categorization. As a result, there is a lack of proper definitions for the borders between paratext and text, and for the processes by which those borders are identified.

2. Materials and Methods

While the history of the printed book has been studied from the paratextual perspective, theoretical considerations of paratextuality in early materials are scarce. Due to the differing methods of production in manuscript and print media, the transition period from late medieval to early modern is an excellent starting point for a more theoretical paratextual discussion. The analysis of paratextuality in this period offers insight to the contemporary understanding of the materiality of texts.

We study three documents in manuscript and two in print form (Table 1). The materials chosen for this study represent genres of history writing: two manuscript copies of the prose *Brut* and one of Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, and printed editions of Jean Froissart's *Chronicles* (1523) and Caesar's *Gallic War* (1565). All materials were accessed using online image collections: the University of Manchester Library Image collections and *Early English Books Online*.[6]

We assume that cues through visual highlighting are central in the identification of paratextual elements. Our approach is informed by Carroll et al. who study the pragmatic functions of visual highlighting in medieval manuscripts (2013). Their model of four visual cues for highlighting discourse organization include color, size, change or contrast in style, and prominence in contrast to the "body text" due to positioning. We assume that paratextual elements are separated from the text through similar visual means. Influenced also by Stanitzek's view of the problems of spatial attributes in paratextuality (2005), we have identified three elements which may be in contradiction to the presupposition of spatial separation, and hence are situated at the border of paratextuality: initials, typography, and notes. Each is discussed in a separate subsection below. Finally, it should be noted that as we are primarily interested in paratextual material that overlaps with text, we have chosen to leave out title pages and tables but have included prologues and dedications in our analysis.

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6. *Early English Books Online* provides black and white microfilm digitizations, and hence the use of color in the printed sources is beyond the scope of this study.

Table 1. Primary sources.

Author; Translator	Title / STC	Shelfmark / Call no. of original	Production date	Printer / Scribe
Ranulph Higden; John Trevisa	*Polychronicon*	Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90	14th–15th c.	'The *Polychronicon* Scribe'
Anon.; Anon.	Prose *Brut*, 1377 continuation	Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 102	15th c.	Anon.
Anon.; Anon.	Prose *Brut*, 1415 continuation	Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 104	15th c.	Anon.
Jean Froissart; John Bourchier	*Chronicles*, STC 11396*	London, British Library G.6242	1523	Richard Pynson
Caius Julius Caesar; Arthur Golding	*Gallic War*, STC 4335	San Marino, Huntington Library 99002	1565	William Seres

*This article studies STC 11396, the first two Books of Froissart's Chronicles. See STC 11397 for Books 3 and 4 (1525).

3. Material Explorations on the Borders of Paratextuality

3.1 Paratextual Functions of Initials

The text-organizing functions of initials — the larger, often engraved, painted, and/or decorated letters at the beginning of a section of text — have been discussed by manuscript scholars at length (see e.g. Partridge 2011, 85; Peikola 2008; Derolez 2003, 48–50 and passim), yet initials have been overlooked as part of paratextual typology. This may be because typographical and visual features only receive a cursory treatment in Genette's (1997b) original formulation (see 3.2 below). However, we view initials as ideal for problematizing the borders of paratext as they perform their functions through both visual and textual, material and linguistic forms. In this section, we explore the paratextuality of the initial through an examination of two early printed books and two manuscripts.

In the *Chronicles*, initials are used to mark chapter and paragraph divisions.[7] There are usually two initials per page, one starting a chapter and another marking paragraph division (see Figure 1). Initials at chapter beginnings are decorated woodcuts of five or seven lines in height. Paragraph divisions are typically indicated with a smaller initial of two or three lines, although some paragraph divisions have an initial up to five lines in height, and some have no initials at all, but simply use type, with or without a paraph (¶). Finally, there are a few three-line spaces reserved for paragraph initials, but with a type set in the middle as a guide letter, possibly due to a shortage of initials of suitable size.[8] The seven-line initials are employed at chapter beginnings only. The five-line initials can appear in chapter- or paragraph-initiating position, but are far less common in the latter. All seven- and five-line initials are decorated woodcuts. The two-line initials are, with a few exceptions, used for paragraph beginnings only: all are plain Lombardic (see Figure 1).

7. Two twenty-leaf samples were studied, ff. 1r–20v and ff. 187r–206v. While the first section consists of the leaves immediately following the front matter, the second sample was chosen randomly from the middle of the codex.

8. In order by size: seven-line initials, 28 tokens (initiate chapters); six-line, 1 (chapters); five-line, 21 (18 chapters / 3 paragraphs); four-line, 1 (chapters); three-line, 5 (chapters); two-line, 22 (3 chapters / 19 paragraphs); additionally, 10 tokens with 3–5 line spaces, type set in the middle (1 chapters / 9 paragraphs); 9 paragraph divisions with no initial, and no space.
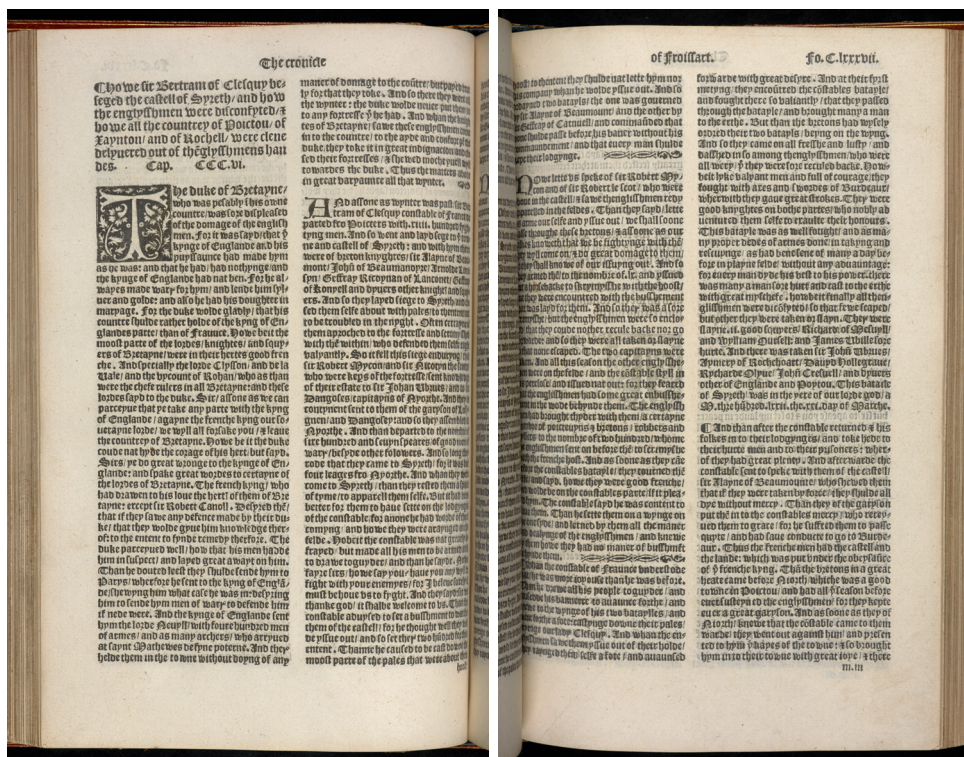
Figure 1. Seven- and two-line initials in Froissart's *Chronicles*, STC 11396, ff. 186v–187r. © British Library Board (G.6242), used by permission.

While the initial program is not necessarily transparent, the initials perform a navigational function in communicating the structure of the text. Previous research on medieval manuscript initials shows that initials can serve two purposes: they signal the beginning of a textual unit such as a book or a chapter, and they may indicate what position that unit has in the textual hierarchy (see e.g. Brown 1994, 73). Both of these are part of the navigational function. The initial program of the *Chronicles* reveals two different ways in which this function operates. The size of the initial, in interaction with the surrounding paratextual elements and visual features such as chapter titles and the spacing and placing of elements, communicates the importance of the section break (see Figure 1). However, the exact line height of the initial is not significant in establishing paratextual functionality when the immediate textual environment contains initials of the same approximate size. Rather, the navigational function is established

in interaction with other initials. For example, if a five-line initial — usually signaling the beginning of a chapter — is used for paragraph division, a seven-line initial precedes or follows (e.g. ff. 189–190, 195). The use of unusually large initials for paragraph division might indicate the relative importance of the textual content, and hence interpretive functionality, but more likely it shows an understanding of the navigational function of the initial in its immediate textual environment. In other words, the initial can act paratextually, in the navigational function, either as part of a consistent program or in reference to other initials in its vicinity.

Two manuscripts were studied as evidence of late medieval paratextuality: the *Brut* copies MS Eng 104 and 102.[9] In MS Eng 104, the text begins imperfectly at chapter 101. The initial program is consistent: each chapter begins with an initial, almost exclusively of three lines in height.[10] All are in the immediate textual context of rubrics in red ink (see Figure 2).
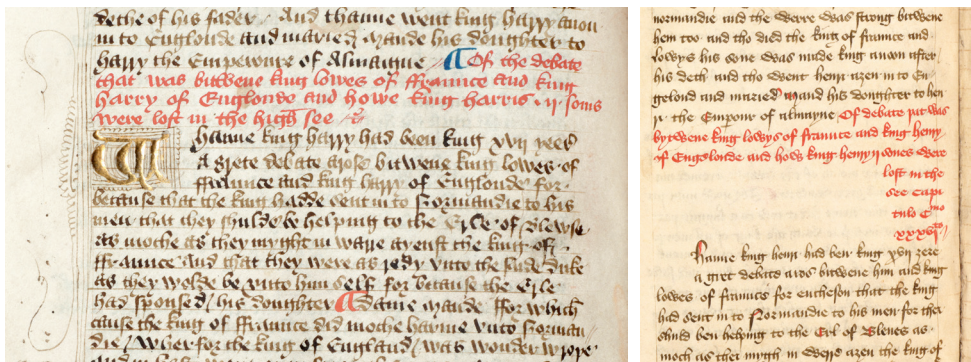

Figure 2. Left: *Brut*, beginning of chapter 136 with a gilded and pen-decorated initial 'W' in 'WHanne'. Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 104, f. 20v (detail). © The University of Manchester, used by permission. Right: *Brut*, beginning of chapter 136 with the initial 'W' missing. Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 102, f. 40v (detail). © The University of Manchester, used by permission.

9. Initials were mapped in a selection of 20 folios in each: ff. 1r–20v and ff. 50r–70v in MS Eng 104, and ff. 1r–20v and ff. 40r–60v in MS Eng 102.
10. There are sixty initials in total within the forty leaves; all but one are three lines in height. The only exception is a nine-line 'I' ('It'). The size has not been accounted for by the scribe; the initial has been placed in the margin. This was a standard practice for tall and narrow initials; see e.g. Snijders 2015, 65.

The decoration also follows a consistent pattern: blue ink and gold leaf alternate and each letter is pen-flourished. The pattern is common in the manuscripts produced in this period and gilded initials are not to be interpreted as more important than blue ones. The historical context of the text's production plays a role within the identification of the elements: a reader not familiar with the conventions may be led to misinterpret the structure of the text. Similarly, the form might be misleading if the producer was not familiar with the content. In her study of hagiographical manuscripts, Snijders (2015, 64–65) argues that the size of the space reserved for an initial (measured in lines) is a better way to judge its importance than details of illumination, as the illuminator was not necessarily familiar with the text. Therefore, the empty space may reflect textual hierarchies better than colors or other details of illumination.

An examination of MS Eng 102 allows us to look at the functions of initials based on the size alone, as the initials were never filled in. The text begins imperfectly at chapter 2 (f. 1r); there is no front matter. MS Eng 102 is fairly consistent in terms of initial heights: the scribe has left two-line spaces for most of the initials, although some three-line spaces are found. There are 113 spaces reserved for initials, of which only 14 span three lines.[11] These two- and three-line spaces occur at chapter beginnings, in the immediate context of rubrics in red ink (see Figure 2). There are also blank lines between chapters with a run-over of the rubric at line-ends; the space may have been reserved for decorative sprays extending from the initials. Comparing MS Eng 102 with MS Eng 104 shows that a blank space reserved for an initial is sufficient visual highlighting to fulfill the same navigational function as an initial. Blank spaces for initials and pictures were rarely filled by contemporary readers, and Hardman has suggested that the contemporary reader found the text not only perfectly legible, but that "the pre-rubrication stage of production came to be seen as an acceptable convention in itself" (1997, 45). Filling in the initial seems to be paratextually redundant. It should, however, be noted that neither the initial nor the blank space work alone but in interaction with other visual cues, such as

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11. Five of the three-line initials are on the same page, f. 3*v*, suggesting that the variance in size is linked to the production process. There are also four tokens of zero space for the initial; two have a guide letter 'I' written in the margin (see note 11). One occurs on f. 58*r*, an inserted leaf copied by a later hand (see MATHESON 1998, 89). There are blank lines between chapters but no space for the initial, leaving the first word as 'Hanne'.

rubrics. The intelligibility of the blank space is largely dependent on these other cues. The paratextual functionality is hence achieved in interaction with other elements within the immediate textual environment.

With this discussion we aim to show that the initials may carry both navigational and interpretive functions and that these functions may be achieved with or without the initial itself. The immediate textual context influences the interpretation. As the *Chronicles* edition examined above shows, textual hierarchies need to be determined on the basis of the local, immediate context of the page. No initial operates alone but in textual and cultural context with other elements of paratext, and with other initials. While empty space appears to operate paratextually, ascertaining whether it does so even without the support of other paratextual elements within the immediate context would require further investigation.

3.2 The Significance of Typography and Script in the Identification of Paratext

While Genette has noted the "paratextual value" of typography (1997b, 7, 34), its exact position in the paratextual theory is left vague. Consequently, the paratextuality of typography (and, to a lesser extent, script) has been debated in subsequent studies. Stanitzek, for example, classifies typography as paratext, stating that "no text ever has a truly paratext-free moment" (2005, 30).[12] Rockenberger & Röcken take the opposite approach, arguing that "typography could [. . .] be seen as a material *feature* at least of the publisher's peritext and a fortiori as its *prerequisite*, *without* having to count as an element of paratext i.e. peritext" (2010, our translation).[13] In a rare consideration of the issue in manuscript materials, Merveldt concludes that as the incipit functions as a title while sharing spatial, textual

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12. This is corroborated by Gumbert's (1993, 6–7) observations on the "purposes" of typography, of which he lists three: *semiotic* expression, *structuring* of text, and *aesthetics*. These partially correspond with Birke and Christ's (2013) functions discussed above. While aesthetic purposes perhaps differ in focus from the commercial function, semiotic values and the structuring of the text correspond quite well with Birke and Christ's interpretive and navigational functions, respectively.

13. "Typographie könnte [. . .] als materielle *Eigenschaft* zumindest des verlegerischen Peritextes und a fortiori als *Voraussetzung* desselben erachtet werden, *ohne* damit selbst als Paratext- bzw. Peritextelement gelten zu müssen", Rockenberger and Röcken 2010, 304, emphases as in the original.

and visual space with the text, it must be classified as belonging to both text and paratext (2008). These debates, however, focus on typography on a general level, and we find it more fruitful to shift the focus to *changes* in the presentation of text.[14] Kaislaniemi calls changes in textual presentation *typeface-* and *script-switching* (2017).[15] The terms refer to changes in letterforms; however, other means of highlighting, such as changes of color, underlining, size, and the use of white space, are equally important for our enquiry. In this section, we study two manuscripts and two printed sources to see whether the highlighting of typeface and script indicates paratextuality. We began our analysis by collecting data on highlighted elements.

The *Chronicles* is set in blackletter, with a relatively restricted set of devices used for visual highlighting. Only type-switches to a larger blackletter font are used. Switches can be found on the title page and in chapter titles, incipits, and running titles. The *Gallic War* presents a more complex example, and hence only the first 20 folios were studied.[16] The text is set in a single column of blackletter, with four other fonts used to highlight different (para)textual elements. The title page of the codex is set in a large italic type, as is the title of Book 1. A large roman type is used in the running titles of the dedication. A roman type in a similar type size as the blackletter main text is used to set the dedication, parts of the dedication title, the running titles, and the first line of Book 1. A smaller blackletter is used in the marginal notes.

Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90 was studied in 20 folios.[17] Copied in anglicana formata, the manuscript features script-switches in rubrics, source references and marginal notes. These switches are to letterforms of bastard anglicana, influenced by textualis, although the switches are not applied consistently but are mixed with the main text letterforms.[18]

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14. For the influence of typography and script on the presentation of text, see e.g. Mak 2011, 12–14.

15. The term is analogous to *code-switching,* which refers to the practice of switching between languages within a text. Kaislaniemi (2017) examines the correlation between code-switching and script- and type-switching in early modern documents.

16. Ff. [-12]*r*–8*v.*

17. Ff. 35*r*–55*v.* The manuscript contains two shorter texts before the *Polychronicon.* These and the indexes (ff. 19*r*–34*v*) were omitted from the analysis.

18. For discussion on whether bastard anglicana is a separate script or a variation of anglicana (formata), see Derolez 2003, 140. The textualis influences include a loopless 'd', loopless ascenders of 'b' and 'h', and long 's' standing on the line with no descender. The looped anglicana forms are mixed with textualis forms.

Regardless of the mixed forms, these elements are consistently highlighted by the use of red ink.[19] A noticeably smaller bastard anglicana is used in chapter numbers placed in the margins. These appear to be written in a different pen. Interlinear corrections are also copied in a smaller script. However, it is readily apparent that the corrections have been produced in smaller size due to spatial limitations, and their content suggests they are part of the text, not paratext (see 3.3 for further discussion).

Notable in the use of highlighting is its concentration on elements which could be considered paratextually significant even without it. For example, switching appears in such established paratext elements as titles (see Genette 1997b, 55–107, 294–318). The *Chronicles* has a larger black-letter font in the chapter and running titles. The *Gallic War,* normally set in blackletter, has a switch to roman type for the dedication — an interpretive paratext also studied by Genette (1997b, 117–43).[20] Highlighting also appears in notes, as in MS Mun.A.6.90. They, too, are discussed by Genette (1997b, 319–43), and a further exploration of the paratextuality of medieval and early modern notes can be found below in 3.3. Visual highlighting is hence used extensively in textual elements which have a paratextual role: it acts in a navigational function, guiding the reader's attention by separating the paratextual matter visually from the text. Highlighting seems to indicate the paratextuality of other elements, rather than carry a paratextual significance of its own.

Highlighting within the main text area is more problematic than that which co-occurs with a spatial separation of the element: the red ink marking source references within the text of MS Mun.A.6.90, for example. The *Polychronicon* contains references to authorities such as Augustine, Isidore, William of Malmesbury, Bede, and Giraldus Cambrensis, sometimes with exact references to books and chapters within their works. Additionally, there are references to Higden, the author, and Trevisa, the translator. In

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Although not observed within the examined section, a clear case of script-switches to textualis is found in rubrics introducing books, e.g. f. 60r; see Carroll et al. 2013, 58. This indicates that such script-switches further facilitate navigation within the codex by establishing a hierarchy in a paratextual element.

19. There is some variation in the script size of the rubrics, although the difference is not marked enough to draw any conclusions as to its significance as highlighting.

20. The other primarily interpretational paratext in the *Gallic War*, the prologue, is set in blackletter like the main text, and is hence considered unmarked. See also Suhr 2011, 72.

MS Mun.A.6.90, all such references appear in red ink, with a script-switch to bastard anglicana.[21] We suggest that here the highlighting serves two functions: it helps the reader identify, with a glance, that the text contains a beginning or an ending, a shift in content. In other words, the highlighting serves a navigational function.[22] The highlighting also makes the existence of *auctoritates* within the text prominent; we see this as interpretive. Referencing outside sources is dependent on the text's genre and communicates possible interpretations derived from a wider tradition of production.[23]

Finally, the fact that the dedication to the *Gallic War* is set in a roman type is paratextually interesting: the type-switch distinguishes the dedication from the rest of the text in blackletter, but due to the length of the paratext, the switch to a different typeface is not apparent as a means of highlighting. Rather, the roman type used in the dedication sets the norm against which other paratextual features may be examined. It thus adopts a position otherwise reserved for the main text. Hence the title, running titles, and further switches within the dedication act as *paratext to paratext*.

Our initial hypothesis in this section was that paratextual elements would be marked visually. This seems to be only partially true. Visual highlighting can indeed indicate paratextual functions, but it seems to concentrate on elements which carry paratextual functionality regardless of the script- or type-switch, such as titles and notes. Furthermore, our observations of the corrections in MS Mun.A.6.90 show that visual highlighting does not guarantee that the highlighted element functions paratextually.

3.3 The Paratextuality of Notes in Late Medieval and Early Modern Texts

For a discussion on the borders of paratext, notes provide well suited material due to their fluent nature: there is some difficulty in defining whether notes are a part of text or paratext. Genette defines a note as a "statement of variable length [. . .] connected to a more or less definite segment of text and either placed opposite or keyed to this segment" (1997b, 319). He

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21. See Section 3.3 for a discussion on Higden and Trevisa's notes.
22. Naturally, the source reference also directs the reader to a text-external source. This, however, is a function of the reference, not of the highlighting. Genette (1997a), views this relationship as one of *intertextuality*.
23. They could also be seen to serve as epitext to the outside texts they reference, but that consideration is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this study.

further comments that notes are optional, meaning that the reader can choose to skip them (Genette 1997b, 324). For Genette, the status of notes is especially problematic in two cases. Original, *authorial* notes he considers as infringing on the text as they contain additional information or explanations. Yet, notes produced by a third party such as the editor often fall "outside the definition of the paratext", as they have not been produced by the author (Genette 1997b, 337). It is unclear what their position in his model is if they are not part of either the text or the paratext. The paratextuality of third-party notes, most notably those by the translator, has been analyzed by translation scholars (see e.g. Toledano Buendía 2013; Lopes 2012; Martin 2006). In the late medieval and early modern context, however, we find the varying material forms of notes more problematic for paratextual theory than the question of their producers.

As medieval manuscripts have rarely been analyzed as part of paratextual typology, it is necessary to begin by considering what textual and visual features could be viewed as *notes* in this context (see, however, Genette 1997b, 320 for a brief consideration of glosses). We do not subscribe to the view of paratextuality being dependent on authorship, nor are we satisfied with spatial separation being a defining feature of notes. We define note as something commenting on another text or a point in the text, usually with some type of visual highlighting to separate notes from the text. This view is influenced by the partially overlapping concepts of *gloss*, *marginalia*, *annotation*, and *commentary*.[24] However, we do subscribe to Genette's idea of optionality: notes can be skipped without the text losing its coherence.

Two primary sources, one printed and one manuscript, were chosen for examination in this section. The 1565 edition of the *Gallic War* (STC 4335) features a number of printed marginalia. Again, we limited our observation

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24. *Gloss* refers to a translation or clarification of the text, commonly found in medieval manuscripts. It may be one word or several in length, and situated either in the margin or between lines. The definitions of gloss and *marginalia* overlap with those of the note, although the interlinear position is reserved to glosses, while marginalia refers to all kinds of elements in the margins, whether printed, handwritten, or drawn. *Annotation* and *commentary* refer to material additional to the text of the work, typically sharing material space with the text. Annotation may also be used for glosses and marginalia while commentary is a discussion on another work, typically legal or biblical. It should be noted that commentary refers to content, whereas gloss and marginalia concentrate on material elements visible on the page. For definitions for these terms, see e.g. Brown 1994, Beal 2008.

to two 20-leaf sections.[25] Thirty-one printed notes can be found within this 40-leaf sample. All notes have been laid in the outer margins and they are typically tied to the relevant passage of text by an asterisk (*). In a few cases the tie-mark has been set on the previous page or completely left out and the positioning of the marginal note is left to convey the association.

The majority of the notes found are interpretive: they aid the reader by providing translations or explanations.[26] For example, when Book 1 of the *Gallic War* states the **Heluetians hauing dayly conflict with the Germanes*, the asterisk refers to the margin where it is explained that the *Helvetii* are *Now called Swiszers* (f. 1*v*). The notes also cover locales, such as *Norinberg* (f. 4*v*) and *The whole countrey of Fraunce* (f.1*r*). The sample contains only one note with functions different from those described above. *Alegion*, without a tie-mark, is laid in the outer margin of a passage discussing the recruitment of soldiers, *for there was but one legio[n] at that time in the further Gallia* (f. 5*v*). Unlike the other marginalia, the item offers no explanation or clarification but serves a purely navigational function. As the text on ff. 5*r*–5*v* does not seem particularly interesting or central to the work, the reason for employing a navigational note seems rather to be to refer to the end of the codex (ff. [280]*v*–[281]*r*): there the reader can find another note discussing the potentially unfamiliar military term *legion* in greater detail.

The form and contents of the marginal notes in MS Mun.A.6.90 overlap with those discussed above. MS Mun.A.6.90 has 29 notes in the margins within the section examined.[27] Proper nouns such as place names are common, e.g. *mons Syna* (f. 41*v*), *de Ierusalem* (f. 42*r*), and *Bactria* (f. 44*v*), but the notes may also mention themes discussed in the text, for example *No[ta] de p[ro]p[ri]etatib[us] ho[m]i[nu]m i[n] Hibern[ia]* (Note the characteristics of people in Ireland) (f. 48*v*), *No[ta] de limitib[us] regnorum q[ui] fu[er]unt* (Note the borders of kingdoms that were) (f. 54*r*).[28] The notes are mostly written in the margins, in red ink, with no tie-marks, and using the same script as in the rubrics (see Section 3.2). Although the content and form of these notes are similar to those found in the *Gallic War*, their paratextual function is different. The notes in MS Mun.A.6.90 repeat the themes and

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25. Ff. [-12]*r*–8*v*, 138*r*–158*v*.

26. *Interpretive* may also refer to paratextual materials which guide the reader to interpret the text in a certain way, or to adopt a certain position towards the text. The notes in the *Gallic War* contain explanations and translations only.

27. Ff. 35*r*–55*v*.

28. Abbreviations expanded in square brackets; original punctuation has been retained but place names have been capitalized according to the present-day practice.

proper nouns found in the text and serve a navigational function, provided that the reader knows Latin. This is in contrast to the interpretive notes discussed above in connection to the *Gallic War*. The categorization is not clear-cut, however, as the notes can be seen as having a secondary function as well. If the reader is familiar with the text and/or the themes discussed, the marginal notes in the *Gallic War* could be used as additional navigational aids, whereas the Latin *nota* in the MS Mun.A.6.90 notes highlights the importance of certain themes found in the text, guiding the reader's interpretation.[29]

There is a more complex class of notes, however, found in the English translation of the *Polychronicon*. All manuscript copies of the work feature textual material by both Higden, the author, and Trevisa, the translator, embedded in the text. For example, MS Mun.A.6.90 has textual matter which is attributed to the author and translator by referring to their names in red ink. The capital letter "R" is used for Higden, while "Trevisa" is spelled out in full. The visual representations of the translator and author are hence very similar to those of Higden's sources, which are also highlighted by using red ink (see Section 3.2 for a discussion on the highlighting). Figure 3 contains examples of all: Higden (l. 6), Trevisa (l. 10), William of Malmesbury (l. 4), Bede (l. 11, as part of the rubric), and Alfridus (l.13). Two questions arise: firstly, do the passages attributed to Higden and Trevisa count as notes, and secondly, are they paratextual? To explore this problem, all instances of "R" and "Trevisa" and their referents within the 20-folio sample were examined. The reference to Higden or Trevisa is provided at the beginning of each passage. How the end of each passage is signaled varies, however: occasionally there is a paraph mark, occasionally it is immediately followed by a new passage beginning with "R" and "Trevisa", or with a reference to one of Higden's external sources. The form alone is therefore not helpful in determining whether a passage can be classified as a note as the content must be evaluated to verify its paratextual status.

Following the original paratext framework, any notes by a third party such as the translator would not be classified as part of the text. The contents of Trevisa's notes do not pose a problem in this regard: they explain

29. MS Mun.A.6.90 has five additional tokens: these are corrections, which were initially examined because of their similarity to the scribal notes. The corrections appear in an interlinear position, or in the margins with a caret used as a tie-mark, but they fall outside our definition of notes: they do not comment on or add to the abstract text, rather their visual difference from the text occurs on the material level. This is supported by the linguistic difference: notes are typically in Latin and in red, corrections are in English and in black.
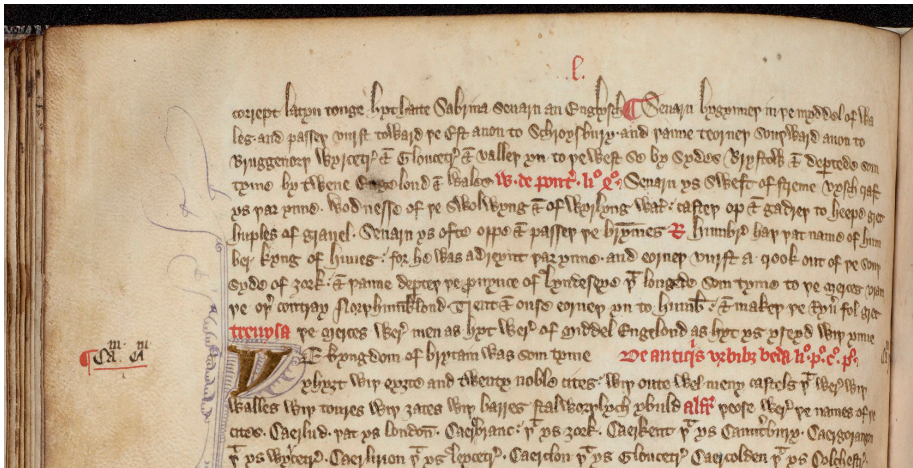
Figure 3. The *Polychronicon*. Manchester, Chetham's Library MS Mun.A.6.90, f. 50v (detail). © Chetham's Library, Manchester, used by permission.

or comment on the preceding text, e.g. *ffenix ys a wond[er] bryd. for al þ[a]t kuynde; ys bote on alyue* (the phoenix is a miraculous bird for there is only one of its kind alive), f. 41*v*.[30] Hence, they match our definition of notes regarding content and visual marking. It is only their placement within the main text area which makes them complex in terms of paratextuality. They serve an interpretive function and differ from marginal notes only in terms of their location. Thus, we conclude that Trevisa's notes are to be viewed as paratext.

The material attributed to Higden contains some notes similarly explaining or commenting on a specific word in the text, cf. e.g. *bote þ[er] ys anoþ[er] Pentapolis in Affrica* (But there is another Pentapolis in Africa), f. 43*r*. However, there are some cases in which the red capital letter "R" precedes a passage that does not fall into our definition of a note: it does not comment on a word, concept, topic or another identifiable part of the text, but introduces new content. For example, on f. 51*r* a reference to Higden immediately follows Trevisa's note on hot baths, but it seems that the reference is given here to indicate that Higden's narrative continues:

þe wat[er] eorneþ vnd[or] eorþe by veynes of bremston [&] so ys yhat
kundlych in þat cours [&] sp[ri]ngþ op in dyu[er]s places of þe cite [&]

30. For a detailed discussion on the contents of Trevisa's notes, see Fowler 1995, esp. 178.

so þar buþ hote baþes þ[a]t wasscheþ of tet[re]s oþ[er] sores [&] schabbes
treuysa. þey me myȝte by craft make hote baþes for to dure long ynow;
þis acordeþ wel to reson [&] to philosophy þ[a]t treteþ of hote welles [&]
baþes þ[a]t buþ yn dyuers londes, þey þe wat[er] of þis baþe be mor[e]
troubly [&] heuyer[e] of smyl [&] of sauour þan oþ[er]e hote baþes þat
ych haue yseye at Okene yn Almayn [&] at Eyges in Sauoy. þe baþes
in Eyges yn Sauoy buþ as veyr [&] as cleer as eny cold welle streme. ych
haue asayed [&] ybaþed þarynne **R** Claudius Cesar maryede hys doȝt[er]
to Aruiragus kyng of britons þis Claudius Cesar bulde Gloucetr[e] yn þe
weddyng of hys douȝt[er].³¹

Here, the running text by the author is interrupted by Trevisa's note, and
the reference to Higden is used to mark the return to the text rather than
the beginning of a new note. In other words, the reference "R" has multiple
functions, which obscures the marking of notes. It would be possible, per‐
haps, to read the highlighted references to Higden and Trevisa as textual
rather than paratextual strategies, separating the author's and translator's
voices from those of Higden's Latin authorities. Similarly, although we
define Trevisa's notes as paratext based on their content, their incorpora‐
tion into the main text area guides the reader to regard them as text rather
than paratext. However, the fact that the commentator's name is supplied
allows the reader to view them as separate from the text. This discord of
material and textual messages is a prime example of the complexity of para‐
textual relationships. Notes may have interpretive and navigational func‐
tions, sometimes a combination of both. Their functionality as paratext
is dependent on a complex interrelation of issues of content, form, and
relationship with the text.

31. "the water flows under the earth by veins of sulphur and is that way heated
    naturally, and it springs up in several places of the city, and so there are hot
    baths that wash off tumors, other sores and scabs. **Trevisa.** Though men might
    make hot baths durable enough, this accords well to reason and to knowledge
    that pertains to hot wells and baths that exist in different countries, although
    the water of this bath is more turbid and smellier than that of other hot baths
    that I have seen in Aachen in Germany and in Aix in Savoy. The baths in Aix
    in Savoy are as fair and clear as any cold spring. I have tried and bathed in them.
    R. Claudius Caesar married his daughter to Arviragus King of Britons. This
    Claudius Caesar built Gloucester for the wedding of his daughter". *Polychroni‐
    con*, transcribed and translated from MS Mun.A.6.90, f. 51*r*.

4. Redefining the Borders of Paratext and Text

All elements examined in Section 3 above confirm that paratextual functionality is not limited to elements that are spatially separated from the text. Moreover, while neither form nor function alone is sufficient in determining the paratextual status of an element, we maintain that in identifying paratextual elements in medieval and early modern materials, visual highlighting is a strong indicator of paratextuality. Typeface- and script-switches, changes in color, underlining, and spatial separation through space and placement, especially in interaction with one another, help the reader to navigate the page and make decisions as to the functions of the highlighted elements.

Our analyses show that the division into interpretive, navigational and commercial functions (Birke and Christ 2013) is indeed applicable to a discussion on paratextuality in medieval and early modern materials. We found that both initials and highlighting serve mainly navigational functions by making the structure of the text visible. While initials and highlighting also have some interpretive functions — for example, in the way in which the size and style of an initial guide the reader to gauge the importance of the section following — the principal function of these elements seems to be the navigational one. Marginal notes comprise both interpretive and navigational functions, although the interpretive function must be identified through the content of the note.

We propose that of the three functions identified by Birke and Christ, the navigational function pertains to the use of the physical document, i.e. the material text, whereas the interpretive function pertains to the reception and understanding of the abstract text, i.e. the text of the work. Notable in the three elements examined in this study is the absence of a purely commercial function, which is not particularly surprising since materials from the handwritten era were commonly produced through commission. However, by 1565 and the publication of the *Chronicles*, the commercialization of print production was fully underway. We assume that the lack of commercial functions identified in the paratextual matter relates more to our choice of elements than to a true lack of commercial paratexts in books of this period. As noted above, paratextual elements may serve more than one of these functions simultaneously. For example, decorative elements (e.g. initials) have aesthetic value and may therefore be linked to the commercial function in addition to their primary function (navigational or

interpretive).[32] Furthermore, the relationship of commercial paratexts with text perhaps differs from that of navigational and interpretive paratexts in that both the physical object and the abstract content of the text are being sold and promoted through the use of commercial paratext. Hence, commercial paratext might be more clearly linked to both the document and the work. The relationship between text, work, and paratext would, however, require further study.

Paratext does not always need to be in the immediate context of the text to operate. For example, titles and marginalia may be paratextually related to other paratext. We are led to ask: are prologues and dedications not blurring the lines between text and paratext? By occupying the position usually reserved for text, this paratextual matter can be seen as taking on the functions of text. Considering text through its position as a center around which paratext congregates, however, leads to a circular reasoning which is not particularly helpful in determining paratextual borders. For this objective, we find the concept of *optionality* far more functional. The possibility of defining paratexts through their optionality was presented by Genette (1997b, 324) specifically in the context of notes (see Section 3.3). However, the concept of optionality is also useful in discussing the paratextuality of other elements. A similar phenomenon was identified in our data on initials in Section 3.1: the absence of an initial was not found to be paratextually significant.

The optionality of paratext is intrinsically connected with the materiality of text. Changes to the material representation of a text, or to material paratext such as the initial, do not translate to changes in the abstract text. Should an element be such that it can be omitted in subsequent copies or editions, particularly without the text of the work losing its meaning or coherence, we may speak of paratext. For example, some of the notes discussed above in Section 3.3, explaining or translating text, are unambiguously paratext: they may be skipped, or edited out in future material manifestations of the work. Conversely, when an element cannot be removed but its material and visual realization may be changed, the element may be said to be *paratextual*, but not part of the *paratext*. This is the case with typography and script.

The medieval and early modern initial is problematic for the construction of optionality as a paratext-defining feature. This is because the initial not only operates on the material and abstract levels but contains two messages, textual and paratextual, of which only the latter is truly optional.

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32. See Gumbert's aesthetic purpose of typography (1993, 6).

Thus, initials cannot be viewed as purely optional but their physical and material form may be altered: an initial may be replaced with another, or replaced with a type. Even the empty space reserved for the initial may convey a paratextual message, and while the material text will suffer an alteration through the missing letter, the abstract text will hardly be affected by this lack.

We conclude that what we are looking at is not a simple text-paratext continuum but a complex network of elements in different textual and paratextual relationships with each other. Ultimately, all paratext influences the text of the work.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of our article is to suggest a wider critical enquiry into what paratext is and what paratextuality means, especially in connection with textual theories. We chose as our starting point the division of text into texts of documents (material) and texts of works (abstract or ideal). In our view, the lack of such a distinction is one of the main reasons for terminological confusion in paratext studies, especially since paratexts are studied across several fields, some of which focus on the work (e.g. literature), others on the document (e.g. book history). With this distinction in mind, and by concentrating on the level of the document as encountered by the reader, we limited the range of variables affecting the borders between text and paratext. However, although we have striven to keep our discussion on the material level of text, we admit that this is not always possible: the material and the ideal are intrinsically linked.

We are convinced that the question of borders between text and paratext, and the complex network of paratextual relations, is highly relevant for the understanding of textuality as well as the processes of book production. Further exploration of paratextuality, keeping in mind the concept of abstract text and the interplay between different textual and paratextual levels, would be beneficial for future enquiries.

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Le fonti del lessico teologico del *De Mystica Theologia* dello Pseudo-Dionigi Areopagita[1]

Nicolò Sassi

Abstract

What reveals the language of the Corpus Areopagiticum *that we can use to determine its origin? Is it possible to detect specific words or lexical clusters which help situate the* Sitz im Leben *of the corpus within a specific theological school or movement? This study investigates these questions: through an analysis of pseudo-Dionysius' vocabulary and syntagmata it will trace the theological sources that shaped and nurtured pseudo-Dionysius' thought.*

KEYWORDS: Pseudo-Dionysius; Corpus Areopagiticum; *Byzantine Mysticism; Theological vocabulary; Theological Greek.*

1.

La disputa sull'origine del *Corpus Areopagiticum* ha una storia millenaria e tra i vari approcci utilizzati per risolverla è stato tentato anche lo studio dello stile letterario. Sebbene esistano studi comprensivi sulle macro-caratteristiche del linguaggio del corpus (Scazzoso 1958; Scazzoso 1967), così come veri e propri lessici specifici (Van den Daele 1941), non esiste ancora un lavoro che tracci le fonti del lessico della teologia dionisiana.

Che cosa rivela il linguaggio del *Corpus Areopagiticum* a proposito della sua origine? È possibile rintracciare termini o addensamenti terminologici

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che situino il *Sitz im Leben* del corpus nell'ambiente di una specifica scuola teologica? O addirittura, è possibile rintracciare tratti caratteristici dell'*usus scribendi* dello pseudo-Dionigi in un'altra precisa figura dell'Oriente cristiano tardoantico? Obiettivo della presente indagine è rispondere a queste domande.

Ciò che ci si propone di fare in questo studio è precisamente un'auscultazione del testo, vòlta a individuare la presenza di echi e suggestioni propri della prosa teologica degli autori di V e inizi VI secolo, per poter determinare se queste rivelino, in qualche misura, l'ambiente di origine dell'autore — o degli autori — del corpus. Lo studio delle descrizioni che l'autore fa della natura divina o del cosmo intelligibile possono rivelare le influenze cui questo autore è stato esposto, le letture che hanno nutrito la sua riflessione, il *milieu* teologico e filosofico in cui l'autore si è trovato a scrivere e a vivere.

Per individuare queste fonti della speculazione dionisiana l'analisi si è concentrata sul lessico teologico: in primo luogo le descrizioni e gli attributi sulla natura del divino e sulla sua articolazione interna, ma anche quelli sulla sua azione, sulle modalità di conoscenza di esso attraverso l'indagine — razionale, spirituale o esegetica -, sulla visione complessiva del rapporto Dio-mondo. Questo criterio è stato ritenuto euristicamente fecondo poiché è ragionevole attendersi che l'autore operi una scelta particolarmente oculata, e di conseguenza rivelativa dei suoi presupposti teorici, nelle sezioni del testo in cui affronta temi così fondamentali della sua riflessione: come descrive il divino lo pseudo-Dionigi? Che attributi tende a usare? In quale ordine? Quali espressioni usa per descrivere le modalità di accesso della mente al primo principio?

Lavorando sul *De mystica theologia* sono stati isolati i sintagmi, le *iuncturae* e il vocabolario filosoficamente e teologicamente centrali nella trattazione, dei quali si sono cercate occorrenze nella letteratura greca precedente, dalle origini fino all'inizio del VI sec., *terminus ante quem* di composizione del corpus: in questo modo è stato possibile individuare gli echi del linguaggio tecnico della tradizione teologica antica e tardoantica — sia pagana che cristiana — presenti nel corpus.

A livello metodologico si è operato nel seguente modo. Si è isolata ogni singola proposizione teologicamente significativa, della cui scelta si è data breve giustificazione in un commento a seguire, e la si è suddivisa nei suoi lemmi fondamentali[2]; si è poi inserito il sintagma così ottenuto — compo-

2. Questo significa che i sostantivi, gli aggettivi e i verbi teologicamente caratterizzati sono stati cercati a partire dal lemma fondamentale, ovvero in tutti i

sto nella maggioranza dei casi da tre parole[3] — nel motore di ricerca dei lemmi del *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, impostando come *range* di ricerca il periodo che va dalle origini fino al XX sec. d.C.[4]. Dopo aver cercato la *iunctura* nella sua interezza, si è ripetuta la ricerca inserendo — dove possibile[5] — solo due o solo una parola, in modo da poter determinare il grado di originalità della formula teologica o il grado di innovazione che, su di una formula pre-esistente, lo pseudo-Dionigi innesta.

Stabilire in questo modo il retroterra concettuale dell'autore — o degli autori — del corpus su base linguistica, creando una sorta di "mappatura" delle fonti teologiche, letterarie, religiose e filosofiche dell'ignoto che si è celato dietro il nome di Dionigi Areopagita, può rappresentare un contributo significativo all'indagine sull'origine di questo insieme di scritti pseudo-epigrafi, tuttora un enigma della letteratura cristiana tardoantica e proto-bizantina.

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casi della declinazione nel caso di sostantivi o aggettivi, e in tutti i tempi, modi e diatesi nel caso dei verbi, indipendentemente della particolare flessione che la parola ha all'interno del testo dionisiano. In questa fase del lavoro inoltre si è tenuto conto di tutte le *variae lectiones* evidenziate dai curatori dell'edizione critica di riferimento, ma non tutte sono state prese in considerazione ai fini dell'analisi. Le lezioni che manifestano chiaramente un errore del copista (come per esempio le aplografie) sono state ignorate, mentre le lezioni filosoficamente significative, più feconde per il presente studio, sono state analizzate.

3. Numero massimo di parole inseribile nel sistema.

4. Questo *range* di ricerca necessita un chiarimento, poiché potrebbe sembrare in contraddizione con quanto affermato poco prima. Volendo contribuire alla questione dell'origine del corpus, cercando di individuare le influenze che hanno agito sul suo autore, si è ovviamente concentrata l'attenzione sulle sue possibili fonti, ovvero sui teologi, le opere e le correnti di pensiero che lo hanno preceduto e che ne hanno nutrito la riflessione. Avendo però fondato il lavoro sulla ricerca tramite il TLG, si è ritenuto indispensabile porre il XX sec. come *terminus* della ricerca: estendendo i limiti di ricerca ben oltre il *terminus ante quem* di composizione infatti, si è potuto tenere conto dell'eventuale presenza di stralci di testi o tradizioni più antiche contenenti formule dionisiane confluiti in opere di redazione successiva. In definitiva quindi, la ricerca è stata effettivamente limitata ad opere composte entro il VI sec. d.C., ma per poter individuare anche possibili testi rilevanti per l'indagine, ma confluiti in opere di datazione successiva, è stato operativamente necessario impostare il XX sec. come *terminus* della ricerca del TLG.

5. Ovvero dove, pur eliminando parte della formula dionisiana originaria, rimanevano elementi sufficientemente caratterizzati come vocabolario teologico.

Dall' analisi del linguaggio pseudo-dionisiano, delle derivazioni gene-tiche del suo vocabolario e delle continuità con le teologie dell'Oriente cristiano tardoantico che da questo si possono dedurre, è emerso che il linguaggio dello pseudo-Dionigi è un multiforme *unicum* nella letteratura patristica greca. In altre parole, esso non permette di stabilire rimandi uni-vocamente orientati a nessun *milieu* filosofico o scuola teologica partico-lare. A questo esito prettamente analitico, con cui lo studio si propone di contribuire agli studi pseudo-dionisiani tramite una mappatura delle influenze che hanno agito sul linguaggio e sulla teologia del corpus, se ne aggiunge uno sintetico e più fecondo. Due ipotesi infatti concludono lo studio: il complesso tessuto testuale del corpus suggerisce che esso sia il prodotto di (a) un teologo di formazione straordinariamente eclettica, o (b) un circolo di teologi.

2.

De mystica theologia, *Capitolo I.*

997A "Τριὰς ὑπερούσιε καὶ ὑπέρθεε καὶ ὑπεράγαθε [. . .]"

  a) τριάς / ὑπερούσιος / ὑπέρθεος
  b) τριάς / ὑπερούσιος / ὑπεράγαθος
  c) τριάς / ὑπέρθεος / ὑπεράγαθος
  d) ὑπερούσιος / ὑπέρθεος / ὑπεράγαθος
  e) τριάς / ὑπερούσιος[6]
  f) τριάς / ὑπέρθεος
  g) τριάς / ὑπεράγαθος[7]
  h) ὑπερούσιος

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6. *Iunctura* che si trova un'altra volta nel corpus (DN V 8, 821 c-821d: Καὶ γοῦν αἱ πανάγιαι καὶ πρεσβύταται δυνάμεις ὄντως οὖσαι καὶ οἷον ἐν προθύροις τῆς ὑπερουσίου τριάδος ἱδρυμέναι πρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ εἶναι καὶ τὸ θεοειδῶς εἶναι ἔχουσι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνας αἱ ὑφειμέναι τὸ ὑφειμένως καὶ αἱ ἔσχαται τὸ ἐσχάτως ὡς πρὸς ἀγγέλους, ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δὲ ὑπερκοσμίως.)

7. Questa caratterizzazione della trinità si ritrova in un altro luogo del corpus (DN III 1, 680b): Καὶ πρώτην, εἰ δοκεῖ, τὴν παντελῆ καὶ τῶν ὅλων τοῦ θεοῦ προόδων ἐκφαντορικὴν ἀγαθωνυμίαν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τὴν ἀγαθαρχικὴν καὶ ὑπεράγαθον ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τριάδα τὴν ἐκφαντορικὴν τῶν ὅλων ἑαυτῆς ἀγαθωτάτων προνοιῶν.

i) ὑπέρθεος[8]
l) ὑπεράγαθος

L'accostamento di ὑπερούσιος — ὑπέρθεος — ὑπεράγαθος è affascinante e originale come epiteto della trinità, ed è usato un'altra volta nel corpus[9].

a) nessuna
b) nessuna
c) nessuna
d) nessuna[10].

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8. Questa parola occorre altre 9 volte nel corpus.
9. DN II, 4, 641A: ἡ ὑπερούσιος ὕπαρξις, ἡ ὑπέρθεος θεότης, ἡ ὑπεράγαθος ἀγαθότης, ἡ πάντων ἐπέκεινα τῆς ἐπέκεινα πάντων ὅλης ἰδιότητος ταὐτότης, ἡ ὑπὲρ ἐναρχίαν ἑνότης, τὸ ἄφθεγκτον [. . .]
10. V'è un'opera, attribuita a Cirillo d'Alessandria ma di datazione incerta, in cui si ritrova l'occorrenza (Ps.-Cyr. Alex., *De sancta trinitate* (CPG 5432), PG 77, 1132: Πιστεύομεν τοιγαροῦν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, μίαν ἀρχὴν ἄναρχον, ἄκτιστον, ἀγένητον, ἀνώλεθρόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον, αἰώνιον, ἄπειρον, ἀπερίγραπτον, ἀπεριόριστον ἀπειροδύναμον, ἀπλῆν, ἀσύνθετον, ἀσώματον, ἄρρευστον, ἀπαθῆ, ἄτρεπτον, ἀναλλοίωτον, ἀόρατον, πηγὴν ἀγαθότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης· φῶς νοερὸν, ἀπρόσιτον· δύναμιν οὐδενὶ μέτρῳ γνωριζομένην, μόνῳ δὲ τῷ οἰκείῳ βουλήματι μετρουμένην πάντα γὰρ, ὅσα θέλει, δύναται, πάντων κτισμάτων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητικήν, πάντων συνεκτικὴν καὶ συντηρητικήν, πάντων προνοητικήν, πάντων κρατοῦσαν, καὶ ἄρχουσαν, καὶ βασιλεύουσαν ἀτελευτήτῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ βασιλείᾳ· μηδὲν ἐναντίον ἔχουσαν, πάντα πληροῦσαν, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς περιεχομένην, αὐτὴν δὲ μᾶλλον περιέχουσαν τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ συνέχουσαν καὶ προέχουσαν, ἀχράντως ταῖς ὅλαις οὐσίαις ἐπιβατεύουσαν, καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα, καὶ πάσης οὐσίας ἐξηρημένην, ὡς ὑπερούσιον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄντα οὖσαν· ὑπέρθεον, ὑπεράγαθον, ὑπερπλήρη·); La data che la più recente ricerca scientifica stabilisce come più plausibile per la composizione dell'opera è però il VII sec. (Symeon the New Theologia 1995; Maspero 1990), quindi aldilà del *terminus ante quem* di composizione del *Corpus Areopagiticum*. Notevole in quest'opera la forte somiglianza col linguaggio dionisiano del *De mystica theologia* — ad esempio per il tono innico generale di questo passo e il massivo ricorso a termini negativi per designare il divino (ben 18 solo in questo passo: ἄναρχον, ἄκτιστον, ἀγένητον, ἀνώλεθρόν, ἀθάνατον, ἄπειρον, ἀπερίγραπτον, ἀπεριόριστον ἀπειροδύναμον, ἁπλῆν, ἀσύνθετον, ἀσώματον, ἄρρευστον, ἀπαθῆ, ἄτρεπτον, ἀναλλοίωτον, ἀόρατον, ἀπρόσιτον.)

e) Leont. Hieros., *Quaestiones adversus eos qui unam dicunt naturam compositam, Aporiae sez. 18*, ed. Gray: Καλῶς οὖν ἡμῖν εἴρηται· ἕνωσις μὲν ὑποστάσεων ἐν μιᾷ φύσει ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὑπερουσίου Τριάδος, ἕνωσις δὲ τῶν φύσεων ἐν μιᾷ ὑποστάσει ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἀφράστου σαρκώσεως τοῦ Λόγου· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔφη καὶ ὁ λέγων πατήρ· "Ἔμπαλιν ἔχειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ κατὰ Χριστὸν μυστηρίου, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος".[11,12]

f) Ps.-Athan., *Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae* (CPG 2268; BHG^a 1147t), PG 28, 917: Διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ θείου Εὐαγγελίου τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ Μητρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἥκοντας ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοῦτο μέλλοντας ἀνακηρύττειν πρὸς συνέλευσιν τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἀνάγκη, καθ' ὑπόθεσιν καὶ αἰτίαν τῆς ἀσάρκου καὶ ὑπερθέου Τριάδος, τὴν σάρκωσιν τοῦ ἑνὸς τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἀνατιθέναι.[13]

g) nessuna

11. Le *Quaestiones*, o *Aporiae*, di Leonzio di Gerusalemme sono molto difficili da datare. L'opera tuttavia è stata presa in considerazione poiché l'editore del testo (P.T.R. Gray) propone, con riserve, il periodo intorno all'emanazione dell'editto *Sugli eretici* del 527 (*Corpus Justinianus* I. 5. I), voluta da Giustino I e da Giustiniano: l'opera quindi deve essere considerata come una possibile fonte dell'autore del *Corpus Areopagiticum*.

12. Il TLG fornisce ulteriori occorrenze della *iunctura*, ma in opere che devono essere escluse dalla presente ricerca: in Ps.-Io. Dam., *Epistula ad Theophilum imperatorem de sanctis et venerandis imaginibus* (CPGs 8115), PG 95, 345–385: [. . .] ὡς στύλον πυρσοφανῆ τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς ὑπερουσίου καὶ ζωαρχικῆς ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος τοῖς πέρασιν ἐξέλαμψε. Πρώτιστον, καὶ ἐξαίρετον καλλιέρημα τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν Θεὸν εὐσεβείας [. . .]. L'edizione critica indicata nel *supplementum* della CPG (Gauer 1994), a pag. LVI dimostra che il testo è una rielaborazione di XII sec. di un'epistola sinodale del 836: il testo quindi non contiene stralci di redazioni più antiche, ed è quindi da escludere dalla presente ricerca; Un'ulteriore occorrenza si ha in Ps.-Cyr. Alex., *De sancta trinitate* (CPG 5432), PG 77, ΚΕΦΑΛ. Ζ', 1141: Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἀλήπτου Τριάδος, τὸ ἀνάπαλιν; Quest'opera, come mostrato sopra (nota 10) supera i limiti cronologici della presente ricerca.

13. Si tratta di un'opera problematica da valutare. Ad ora non esiste un'edizione critica, ed è quindi impossibile determinare in maniera certa la datazione del passo. Jugie (Jugie 1940–1942) propone per la datazione dell'opera una datazione bassa, al VII–VIII secolo, dato che escluderebbe il lavoro dalla presente ricerca, ma Caro (1972) sostiene che il sermone potrebbe essere una rielaborazione tarda di un nucleo antico di IV secolo. La questione probabilmente non si potrà dirimere fino alla costituzione del testo critico.

h) Porph., *Sentinia ad intelligibilia ducentes*, sententia X ed. Lamberz: ἐν δὲ σώμασιν εἰδωλικῶς, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπέκεινα ἀνεννοήτως τε καὶ ὑπερουσίως.

Anon., *In Parmenidem Platonis commentaria [fragmenta]*, sez. 2 ed. P. Hadot: αὐτὸς δὲ οὔτε ἓν οὔτε πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑπερούσιος τῶν δι᾽ αὐτὸν ὄντων·

Pelag. Alch., Πελαγίου φιλοσόφου περὶ τῆς θείας ταύτης καὶ ἱερᾶς τέχνης (e cod. Venet. Marc. 299, fol. 62v), p. 256 ed. Berthelot-Ruelle: ὅτι διὰ τῆς λευκώσεως ταύτης ἄσκιος ὁ χαλκὸς γίνεται, ἀποβαλὼν πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ γεώδη ὑπερουσίαν καὶ παχύτητα τοῦ σώματος.

Them. Rhet., Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἢ Κωνστάντιος, p. 8 ed. Downey-Schenkl: οὕτως οὖν οὐσίαν τε ὑπερούσιον καὶ ὑπερδύναμον δύναμιν καὶ ὑπεράγαθον ἀγαθότητα προστίθησιν ἡ διάνοια.

Questa sequenza di diadi "paradossali" di un sostantivo accompagnato da un aggettivo, composto con ὑπερ- e con il semantema del sostantivo di cui è attributo, si avvicina molto a una struttura caratteristica del *modus scribendi* dell'autore del corpus: la prosa retorica del pagano Temistio (IV sec.) potrebbe aver rappresentato un modello letterario significativo per lo Pseudo-Dionigi.

Ps.-Athan., *Liber de definitionibus* (CPG 2254), PG 28, 536: Θεὸς μέν ἐστιν οὐσία ἀναίτιος καὶ πάσης οὐσίας αἰτία ὑπερούσιος·[14]

Ps.-Athan., *Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae*, (CPG 2268; BHGª 1147t), PG 28, 920: [. . .] ἀλλ᾽ ἅμα Πατέρα, καὶ Υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, κατὰ μίαν ἄναρχον καὶ ἄχρονον ὑπερούσιον μονάδα ὑπάρξεως σέβοντες [. . .][15]

Ps.-Athan., *Symbolum "quicumque"*(CPG 2295), PG 28, 1589: Καὶ τέλειος Θεὸς ὤν, γέγονε τέλειος ἄνθρωπος, μὴ τραπεὶς, μὴ ἀλλοιωθεὶς τὴν ὑπερούσιον καὶ ἄφραστον οὐσίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος [. . .][16]

Ps.-Athan., *De trinitate* (CPG 2296), PG 28, 1605: [. . .] τὸ ἀρχὴν εἶναι ὑπεράρχιον, τὸ οὐσίαν εἶναι ὑπερούσιον, τὸ φῶς λέγεσθαι.[17]

Ps.-Bas. Caes., *Orationes sive Exorcismi* (CPG 2931), PG 31, 1684: Διὸ δεόμεθά σου, Θεὲ πατέρων, καὶ Κύριε τοῦ ἐλέους προαιώνιε, καὶ ὑπερούσιε [. . .][18]

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14. Dalla consultazione della CPG emerge che manca a oggi un'edizione critica, cosa che rende di fatto impossibile determinare la datazione del passo.

15. Vedi nota 13

16. Dalla consultazione della CPG emerge che manca a oggi un'edizione critica, cosa che rende di fatto impossibile determinare la datazione del passo.

17. Dalla consultazione della CPG emerge che manca a oggi un'edizione critica, cosa che rende di fatto impossibile determinare la datazione del passo.

18. Come dimostrato da Gain (1992, 261–277) questa terza orazione non è certamente basiliana; la datazione approssimativa proposta dallo studioso, con molte

Sall., Phil., *De deis et mundo*, cap. V sez.3 ed. Rochefort: ὑπερούσιον μὲν ἀγαθὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνάγκη.

Ps.-Did., *De Trinitate (Lib. II,1–7)*, cap. IV sez. 8 ed. Seiler: [. . .] τὸ δὲ ὑπερπάμφαες ἅγιον πνεῦμα συμφυῶς καὶ ἑνοειδῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ προουσίου καὶ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀμόρφου προῆλθεν ἀχρόνως πατρικῆς ὑποστάσεως [. . .].

Ps.-Did., *De Trinitate (Lib. II, 8–27)* (CPG 2570), PG 39, 600: Ὅτι οὐ διακονικῶς, ἀλλ' αὐθεντικῶς, πάντα ποιεῖ καὶ παρέχει, καθὼς βούλεται, τὰ χαρίσματα, ὅσαπερ ἂν ἡ ἄφραστος, καὶ ὑπερούσιος, καὶ μόνη χαρίσαιτο φύσις.[19]

Ps.-Did., *De Trinitate (Lib. III)* (CPG 2570), PG 39, 877: [. . .] ἡ ἑνὰς καὶ ὑπερούσιος οὐσία ἐστὶ [. . .]

Id., 804: ἀναμφήριστον, ὡς τῆς ἑνάδος θείας καὶ ὑπερουσίου ἐστὶν οὐσίας.

Synes., *Hymni*, n. 9 ed. Dell'Era: ἁπλότητας ἀκροτήτων ἑνίσασα καὶ τεκοῦσα ὑπερουσίοις λοχείαις [. . .]

Id., n. 9 ed. cit.: [. . .] ὑπερούσιος δὲ παγὰ στέφεται κάλλεϊ παίδων ἀπὸ κέντρου τε θορόντων, περὶ κέντρον τε ῥυέντων.

Id., n. 5 ed. cit. : [. . .] μία ῥίζα ἀγαθῶν ἀνέσχεν ὄλβον ὑπερούσιόν τε βλάσταν γονίμοις ζέοισαν ὁρμαῖς·

Theodoret. Cyrr., *Explanatio in Canticum Canticorum* (CPG 6203), PG 81, 116: [. . .] καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ φύσει, εἴτε αἰσθητῇ, εἴτε νοητῇ, καθ' οὐσίαν ὁρᾶται, ὑπερούσιος ὤν.

Ps.-Cyr. Alex., *Collectio dictorum veteri testamenti*, PG 77, 1244: Κελεύει μὴ παριδεῖν τοὺς ὑπερουσίους [ἴσ. ὑπεξουσίους] τοῦ κατὰ πίστιν ἀδελφοῦ [. . .]

Cyr. Alex., *Commentarii in Joannem*, vol. 1 p. 72 ed. Pusey: ἔσται δὲ πάλιν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο Θεός, ἅτε δὴ καὶ ὑπερούσιος ὤν [. . .]

Cyr. Alex., *De sancta trinitate dialogi (I–VIII)*, *Aubert* p. 434 ed. de Durand: [. . .] ὑπερούσιος ὢν καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα Θεός [. . .].

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riserve, è la fine del V sec., per cui l'opera merita di essere presa in considerazione all'interno di questa ricerca.

19. Il *De trinitate* (= Bibl. Angelica Mss. graec. 116) attribuito per la prima volta nel XVIII sec. dai fratelli Mingarelli a Didimo Alessandrino, è un'opera tuttora oscura. La critica più recente è ancora divisa su dati fondamentali riguardo all'opera: nel 2013 per esempio I. Perczel (2013, 83–108) ha sostenuto che il *De trinitate* sia opera dello stesso autore del *Corpus Areopagiticum*, mentre Panyiotis Tzamalikos (2012) ha sostenuto che Cassiano il Sabaita — un teologo vissuto tra la fine del V e la prima metà del VI sec. — sia l'autore del trattato.

Cyr. Alex., *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali trinitate*, PG 75, 36: Ἔστι γὰρ ὑπερούσιος.

Cyr. Alex., *Epistulae paschales sive Homiliae paschales (epist. 1–30)*, PG 77, 681: Ἀσώματόν τι καὶ ὑπερούσιον ἡ τῶν ὅλων κατεξουσιάζουσα φύσις.

Herm. Phil., *In Platonis Phaedrum scholia*, p. 84 ed. Couvreur: [. . .] ὃ καὶ ἓν λέγεται τῆς ψυχῆς [ὃ] καὶ ἴνδαλμα φέρει τοῦ ὑπερουσίου ἑνός [. . .]

Id., p. 106: ὥσπερ ἄλογον ἀπὸ τοῦ γινομένου καί ποτε ὄντος ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν τὸ ὑπερούσιον ἐλθεῖν [. . .]

Syrian. Phil, *In Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria*, p. 6 ed. Kroll: πάντα τὰ ὄντα ταύταις διακοσμῶν ταῖς αἰτίαις. καίτοι εἰ μήτε τῷ ὑπερουσίῳ ταῦτα παρεῖναι δύναται μήτε τινὸς τῶν ὅπως ποτὲ ὄντων ἀποστατεῖ, πῶς οὐχὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἢ ὄντα καθ᾽ αὑτὰ συμβεβηκέναι λέγοιτο ἄν;

Id., ed. cit. p. 165: τὰς γὰρ τῶν οὐσιῶν ἀρχὰς ὑπερουσίους εἶναι χρή.

Id., ed. cit. p. 141: ἑκάστην τάξιν τῶν ὄντων ἡγεμονικὴν ἀξίαν ἔχουσαι καὶ πᾶσαι προεληλύθασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνὸς τοῦ ὑπερουσίου καὶ πάντων ἐξηρημένου, δεῖ τὸν εἰδητικὸν εἶναι ἀριθμόν.

Non continuo a riportare le ulteriori occorrenze: in tutta l'opera di Siriano se ne contano 13.

Procl. Phil., *In Platonis rem publicam commentarii*, p. 265 ed. Kroll: ὅθεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑπομένοις λόγοις εἰπόντος τοῦ Σωκράτους τἀγαθὸν πρὸ οὐσίας ὑφεστάναι καὶ αὐτὸ παράγειν τὸ ὄν, Ἄπολλον, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, δαιμονίας ὑπερβολῆς [VI 509c], εἰς τὸ ὑπερούσιον ἐνατενίσαι μὴ δυνηθείς·

Id., *Theologia Platonica* IV 29, p. 88 ed. Saffrey — Westerink: Μονὰς γὰρ ἦν καὶ τριὰς πρώτως μὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, δευτέρως δὲ ἐν τοῖς νοεροῖς, καὶ ὑπερουσίως μὲν ἐν ἐκείνοις, εἰδητικῶς δὲ ἐν τούτοις.

Non continuo a riportare esempi, ma nell' *Opera Omnia* di Proclo si contano più di un centinaio di occorrenze[20].

Nyl. Ancy., *Commentarii in Canticum Canticorum*, sez. 78 ed. Guérard: [. .] οὐ ποιοῦν αἴσθησιν τοῦ ζημιοῦσθαι τῇ ὑπερουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν συναγομένου πλούτου.

Dam. Phil., *De principiis*, vol. 1 p. 46 ed. Ruelle: Ὡς γὰρ τὸ ἓν ὂν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι τὸ πρῶτόν ἐστι νοητόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἓν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερουσίοις τὸ πρῶτόν ἐστιν τὸ ὑπερούσιον.

Id., vol. 1 p. 13: ἐν δὲ τῷ νοητῷ πῶς ἐστι μᾶλλον, εἰ μίαν ἄρα στέρησιν καλοῖμεν κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον, ὡς τὸ μὴ εἶδος, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπερείδεον, καὶ

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20. Le occorrenze di questo lemma erano state già contate da Linguiti (2002, 313), che afferma che 121 occorrenze sono presenti in tutta l'opera di Proclo, l'autore che in assoluto, dopo lo Pseudo-Dionigi (128), fa maggior uso del termine.

τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπερούσιον, καὶ τὸ μηδέν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄγνωστον κατὰ τὴν πάντων ὑπεροχήν.

Id., *In Phaedonem*, vol. 2 sez. 94 ed. Westerink: Ὅτι ὄντων ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐχόντων καὶ τῶν ταῖς ὑπερουσίοις ἑνάσι συνημμένων, δεῖ καὶ μέσον τι γένος εἶναι, τὸ οὔτε θεοῦ ἐξημμένον ἐν συναρτήματι οὔτε ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἔχον κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, ἀλλὰ τέλειον ἀεὶ καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀφιστάμενον, ἀμετάβλητον μέν, οὐ συνημμένον δὲ τῷ ὑπερουσίῳ· τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον τὸ γένος δαιμόνιον.

Non continuo a riportare esempi, ma nell' *Opera Omnia* di Damascio si contano 32 occorrenze del lemma[21].

Hesych. Lexicogr., *Lexicon (Π—Ω)*, lettera Υ 452 ed. Schmidt.[22]

i) Menand., *Sententiae e codicibus Byzantinis*, linea 336 ed. Jäkel: Θνητὸς πεφυκὼς μὴ φρόνει <γ'> ὑπέρθεα.

Ps.-Athan., *Sermo in annuntiationem deiparae* (CPG 2268; BHGᵃ 1147t), PG 28, 917 (citato precedentemente in "f" poiché in *iunctura* con τριάς).

Ps.-Cyr. Alex., *De sancta trinitate* (CPG 5432), PG 77, 1132: [. . .] ὡς ὑπερούσιον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄντα οὖσαν· ὑπέρθεον, ὑπεράγαθον, ὑπερπλήρη [. . .]

Id., 1137: κοινωνοῦσιν αἱ τρεῖς τῆς ἁγίας Θεότητος ὑπέρθεοι ὑποστάσεις, (ὁμοούσιοι γὰρ καὶ ἄκτιστοι ὑπάρχουσι)· [23]

21. Id., p. 313.

22. Nel *De trinitate* spurio attribuito a Cirillo d'Alessandria vi sono ulteriori occorrenze dell'aggettivo ὑπερούσιος ma, come precedentemente notato (nota 10), l'opera supera i limiti della presente ricerca perché databile al VII sec. Le occorrenze sono: Ps.-Cyr. Alex., *De sancta trinitate* (CPG 5432), PG 77, 1140 πῶς σαφῶς δηλώσει τὴν πάντων τούτων ἀπηλλαγμένην ὑπερούσιον θείαν οὐσίαν; ID., 1148: Τὸ μέντοι ἄκτιστον καὶ ἀπερίγραπτον καὶ ὑπερούσιον, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, κοινὰ Πατρὸς, καὶ Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος.; ID., 1141: Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὑπερουσίου καὶ πάντων ἐπέκεινα καὶ ἀλήπτου Τριάδος [. . .]; ID.,1132: [. . .] ὡς ὑπερούσιον καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ ὄντα οὖσαν· ὑπέρθεον, ὑπεράγαθον, ὑπερπλήρη [. . .]

23. Dal TLG emergono altre due occorrenze della parola: in un'opera di Leonzio di Gerusalemme, contemporaneo dello Pseudo-Dionigi (Leontius of Jerusalem 2006, 130: Καὶ τί τὸ φυσικὸν τοῦτο εἶδος, τὸ ὑπέρθεον, εἴπατε· ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν τάδε; L'occorrenza tuttavia è stata scartata poiché la composizione dell'opera è datata dall'editore del testo tra il 536–538 (Leontius of Jerusalem 2006, 36 et sq.), quindi aldilà del *terminus ante quem* di composizione del corpus. Lo stesso vale per l'altra occorrenza (Heliodorus Alchemist 1923, linea 262: [. . .] ὡς χριστολάτραις οὖσι δόξης ἐμπλέοις, ὑμνοῦντες εὐλογοῦντες

l) Plot., *Enneades*, VI 9, 6 ed. Henry-Schwyzer: Ὥστε τῷ ἑνὶ οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν ἐστιν· οὐδὲ βούλησις τοίνυν οὐδενός· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὑπεράγαθον καὶ αὐτὸ οὐχ ἑαυτῷ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀγαθόν [. . .]

Them. Rhet., Περὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἢ Κωνστάντιος, p. 8 ed. Downey-Schenkl: οὕτως οὖν οὐσίαν τε ὑπερούσιον καὶ ὑπερδύναμον δύναμιν καὶ ὑπεράγαθον ἀγαθότητα προστίθησιν ἡ διάνοια [. . .].

Epiph. Scr. Eccl., *Liturgia praesanctificatorum*, sez. 1 ed. Moraites: Δέσποτα ἅγιε, ὑπεράγαθε, δυσωποῦμέν σε τὸν ἐν ἐλέει πλούσιον, ἵλεων γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τοῖς ἁμαρτωλοῖς [. . .].

Ps.-Macar. Scr. Eccl., *Preces*, PG 34, 448: Ναὶ, Δέσποτα, φιλάνθρωπε, ὑπεράγαθε, μὴ βδελύξῃ με τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀχρεῖον οἰκέτην σου [. . .][24]

Theodoret. Cyr., *Explanatio in Canticum canticorum* (CPG 6203), PG p. 116: ἥτις με σοφία συνέλαβεν, ὡς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου τὴν ὑπεράγαθον περὶ ἐμὲ βούλησιν ἔχουσα·

Gelas. Cyzicenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, libro I cap. 11 sez.12 ed. Heinemann-Loeschcke: εἰ μὴ τάχιστα τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προλαβὼν ὁ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑπεράγαθος θεὸς ὡς ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ ζοφωδεστάτῃ φωστῆρα μέγαν [. . .]

997 Α' " [. . .] ὑπεράγνωστον καὶ ὑπερφαῆ καὶ ἀκροτάτην κορυφήν".

  a) ὑπεράγνωστος / ὑπερφαῆ[25] / ἀκροτάτη

αἰνοῦντες θεὸν ὑπέρθεον, τὸν φωτὸς ὄντα αἴτιον [. . .]), che l'editore data nella *Praefatio* (Heliodorus Alchemist 1923, 2) al secolo VIII.

24. In questo punto della ricerca mi sono imbattuto in una serie di occorrenze (precisamente 10) nell'opera dell'Ephrem greco (Ephraem Graecus 1990, 410: Οὖ τῆς ὑπεραγάθου φιλανθρωπίας ἀξιωθείημεν καὶ ἡμεῖς [. . .]; Ephraem Graecus 1995, 360: Δέσποινα ἀγαθὴ καὶ πανευγενεστάτη τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ παναγάθου καὶ ὑπεραγάθου Θεοῦ Μῆτερ [. . .]). Considerando però la mancanza di una edizione critica e la conseguente impossibilità di stabilire una datazione, non posso inserirlo tra le fonti dello Pseudo-Dionigi.

25. Nella tradizione manoscritta del Corpus un solo codice, Gb, reca una lezione diversa notevole: ὑπερφυῆ in luogo di ὑπερφαῆ. Questa lezione è interessante sia filosoficamente sia perché è anche una parola piuttosto usata dall'autore (29 occorrenze nel Corpus), e.g.: CH III 3, 168A: "[. . .] ἐκεῖνα τελοῦσα χάριτι καὶ θεοδότῳ δυνάμει τὰ τῇ θεαρχίᾳ φυσικῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἐνόντα [. . .]"; CH XIII 3, 301B–301C: Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τῆς φυσικῆς εὐταξίας λόγον ὑπερφυῶς ἡ πάσης εὐκοσμίας ὁρατῆς καὶ ἀοράτου ταξιαρχία τὴν τῆς οἰκείας φωτοδοσίας λαμπρότητα πρωτοφανῶς ἐν πανολβίαις χύσεσι ταῖς ὑπερτάταις οὐσίαις ἀναφαίνει καὶ διὰ τούτων αἱ μετ' αὐτὰς οὐσίαι τῆς θείας ἀκτῖνος μετέχουσιν·

b) ὑπεράγνωστος / ὑπερφυῆ / ἀκροτάτη (*varia lectio*)
c) ὑπεράγνωστος / ἀκροτάτη / κορυφή
d) ὑπεράγνωστος / ὑπερφαῆ / κορυφή

DN I 5, 593B–593C: Ταύταις οἱ θεοειδεῖς ἀγγελομιμήτως, ὡς ἐφικτόν, ἑνούμενοι νόες, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ πάσης νοερᾶς ἐνεργείας ἀπόπαυσιν ἡ τοιάδε γίγνεται τῶν ἐκθεουμένων νοῶν πρὸς τὸ ὑπέρθεον φῶς ἕνωσις, ὑμνοῦσιν αὐτὸ κυριώτατα διὰ τῆς πάντων τῶν ὄντων ἀφαιρέσεως τοῦτο ἀληθῶς καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἐλλαμφθέντες ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸ μακαριωτάτης ἑνώσεως, ὅτι πάντων μέν ἐστι τῶν ὄντων αἴτιον, αὐτὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ὡς πάντων ὑπερουσίως ἐξῃρημένον.; DN II 9, 648A–648B: Ταῦτα δὲ ἡμῖν τε ἐν ἄλλοις ἱκανῶς εἴρηται καὶ τῷ κλεινῷ καθηγεμόνι κατὰ τὰς Θεολογικὰς αὐτοῦ στοιχειώσεις ὕμνηται λίαν ὑπερφυῶς, ἅπερ ἐκεῖνος εἴτε πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν θεολόγων παρείληφεν εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς τῶν λογίων ἐρεύνης συνεώρακεν ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς περὶ αὐτὰ γυμνασίας καὶ τριβῆς εἴτε καὶ ἔκ τινος ἐμυήθη θειοτέρας ἐπιπνοίας οὐ μόνον μαθὼν ἀλλὰ καὶ παθὼν τὰ θεῖα κἀκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὰ συμπαθείας [. . .]; DN II 11, 649D: Καὶ τοῦτο ὑπερφυῶς ἐννοήσας ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν φωτοδοσίαν χειραγωγός, ὁ πολὺς τὰ θεῖα, «τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου», τάδε φησὶν ἐνθεαστικῶς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτοῦ γράμμασι; DN II 2, 681A: Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἴσως ἀπολογίας ἄξιον, ὅτι τοῦ κλεινοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἡμῶν Ἱεροθέου τὰς Θεολογικὰς στοιχειώσεις ὑπερφυῶς συναγαγόντος ἡμεῖς ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῶν ἐκείνων ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν θεολογίαν συνεγραψάμεθα.; DN VII 1, 865B: Καὶ τοῦτο ὑπερφυῶς ἐννοήσας ὁ θεῖος ὄντως ἀνήρ, ὁ κοινὸς ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ καθηγεμόνος ἥλιος·; MT I 3, 1000B: Οὕτω γοῦν ὁ θεῖος Βαρθολομαῖός φησι καὶ πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐλαχίστην καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα καὶ αὖθις συντετμημένον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκεῖνο ὑπερφυῶς ἐννοήσας [. . .]; Ep. IV 1072B: Καὶ δηλοῖ παρθένος ὑπερφυῶς κύουσα καὶ ὕδωρ ἄστατον ὑλικῶν καὶ γεηρῶν ποδῶν ἀνέχον βάρος καὶ μὴ ὑπεῖκον [. . .]; Ep. VII 1081B: αὖθίς τε αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνάτης ὥρας ἄχρι τῆς ἑσπέρας εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διάμετρον ὑπερφυῶς ἀντικαταστᾶσαι.; Ep. VII 2, 1081B: Τοσαῦτά ἐστι τοῦ τότε καιροῦ τὰ ὑπερφυῆ καὶ μόνῳ Χριστῷ τῷ παναιτίῳ δυνατά [. . .]; Ep. IX 3, 1109C–1109D: [. . .] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς ὅλας καὶ παντελεῖς προνοίας ἀγαθουργῶν καὶ προϊὼν ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ μένων ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑστὼς ἀεὶ καὶ κινούμενος καὶ οὔτε ἑστὼς οὔτε κινούμενος, ἀλλ’, ὡς ἄν τις φαίη, τὰς προνοητικὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν τῇ μονιμότητι καὶ τὴν μονὴν ἐν τῷ προνοεῖν συμφυῶς ἅμα καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἔχων.; CH II 2, 140A–140B: Ὅτι μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως προβέβληνται τῶν ἀτυπώτων οἱ τύποι καὶ τὰ σχήματα τῶν ἀσχηματίστων, οὐ μόνην αἰτίαν φαίη τις εἶναι τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀναλογίαν ἀδυνατοῦσαν ἀμέσως ἐπὶ τὰς νοητὰς ἀνατείνεσθαι θεωρίας καὶ δεομένην οἰκείων καὶ συμφυῶν ἀναγωγιῶν, αἳ τὰς ἐφικτὰς ἡμῖν μορφώσεις προτείνουσι τῶν ἀμορφώτων καὶ ὑπερφυῶν θεαμάτων, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μυστικοῖς λογίοις ἐστὶ πρεπωδέστατον τὸ δι’ ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἱερῶν αἰνιγμάτων ἀποκρύπτεσθαι καὶ ἄβατον τοῖς πολλοῖς τιθέναι τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ κρυφίαν τῶν ὑπερκοσμίων νοῶν ἀλήθειαν”.

e) ὑπερφαῆ / ἀκροτάτη / κορυφή

f) ὑπερφυῆ / ἀκροτάτη / κορυφή

g) ὑπεράγνωστος / ὑπερφαῆ / κορυφή

h) ὑπερφαῆ / κορυφή

i) ὑπερφυῆ / κορυφή (*varia lectio*)

l) ἀκροτάτη / κορυφή

m) ὑπεράγνωστος / κορυφή

n) ὑπεράγνωστος

Come già dimostrato da Scazzoso[26], gli aggettivi con il suffisso ὑπερ- sono un tratto caratterizzante dello stile di Dionigi.

Occorrenze:

a) nessuna

b) nessuna

c) nessuna

d) nessuna

e) nessuna

f) nessuna

g) nessuna

h) nessuna

i) nessuna

l) nessuna

m) nessuna

n) nessuna[27]

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26. Scazzoso 1967, 35–46. Tra le macro-caratteristiche dello stile dionisiano individuate dall'autore in questo studio v'è il superlativo, cui Scazzoso assimila pure i costrutti con ὑπερ-. Vedi anche Scazzoso 1958, 434–446.

27. V'è effettivamente un'occorrenza in un'opera di datazione incerta, l'*Erotapokriseis* dello Pseudo-Cesario (Pseudo-Caesarius, cap. 3 linea 50: ἀλλὰ τῶν εἰρημένων πλείστων ὑλικῶν καὶ διαφόρων φώτων *πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως* ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἄϋλον φῶς, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ σὺν τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ παιδὶ καὶ τῷ θείῳ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ὑπερούσιος καὶ ὑπεράγνωστος, ὁ τοῦ μὲν υἱοῦ γεννήτωρ, τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος προβολεύς, κατὰ φύσιν ἀφράστως, ἀχρόνως πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων·); Riedinger tuttavia ha stabilito il 550, quindi aldilà del *terminus ante quem* di composizione del *Corpus Areopagiticum*, come data più plausibile di composizione dell'*Erotapokriseis* (Riedinger 1969, *passim* 235–459).

997B "τὸν ὑπέρφωτον ἐγκεκάλυπται τῆς κρυφιομύστου σιγῆς γνόφον"

   a) ὑπέρφωτος / σιγή / γνόφος
   b) κρυφιομύστος / σιγή
   c) ὑπέρφωτος / γνόφος
   d) σιγή / γνόφος
   e) κρυφιομύστος

Immagine della caligine particolarmente usata nei testi dionisiani[28]: la tradizione mistica medievale la accoglierà in particolare tramite lo Pseudo-Dionigi[29], ma essa è originariamente veterotestamentaria. Nell'antico testamento appare più volte per descrivere ove Dio risieda: appare sia propriamente come "caligine" (γνόφος), che come "nube oscura" (γνωφώδης νεφέλη), cfr. *Ex.* 20, 21 (episodio del rapimento mistico di Mosè); *Deut.*

   28. Oltre che in questo passo è presente in altri sette luoghi del corpus: *Ep.* V 1073A: Ὁ θεῖος γνόφος ἐστὶ τὸ «ἀπρόσιτον φῶς»; DN VII 2, 869 A: Τὸ γὰρ ἄνουν καὶ ἀναίσθητον καθ᾽ ὑπεροχήν, οὐ κατ᾽ ἔλλειψιν ἐπὶ θεοῦ τακτέον ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἄλογον ἀνατίθεμεν τῷ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν τῷ ὑπερτελεῖ καὶ προτελείῳ καὶ τὸν ἀναφῆ καὶ ἀόρατον γνόφον τῷ φωτὶ τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ καθ᾽ ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ ὁρατοῦ φωτός.; MT I 3, 1000C: Οὕτω γοῦν ὁ θεῖος Βαρθολομαῖός φησι καὶ πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐλαχίστην καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα καὶ αὖθις συντετμημένον, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐκεῖνο ὑπερφυῶς ἐννοήσας, ὅτι καὶ πολύλογός ἐστιν ἡ ἀγαθὴ πάντων αἰτία καὶ βραχύλεκτος ἅμα καὶ ἄλογος, ὡς οὔτε λόγον οὔτε νόησιν ἔχουσα, διὰ τὸ πάντων αὐτὴν ὑπερουσίως ὑπερκειμένην εἶναι καὶ μόνοις ἀπερικαλύπτως καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐκφαινομένην τοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐναγῆ πάντα καὶ τὰ καθαρὰ διαβαίνουσι καὶ πᾶσαν πασῶν ἁγίων ἀκροτήτων ἀνάβασιν ὑπερβαίνουσι καὶ πάντα τὰ θεῖα φῶτα καὶ ἤχους καὶ λόγους οὐρανίους ἀπολιμπάνουσι καὶ «εἰς τὸν γνόφον» εἰσδυομένοις, «οὗ» ὄντως ἐστίν, ὡς τὰ λόγιά φησιν, ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα.; MT I 3, 1001A: Καὶ τότε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπολύεται τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ τῶν ὁρώντων καὶ εἰς τὸν γνόφον τῆς ἀγνωσίας εἰσδύνει τὸν ὄντως μυστικόν [. . .]; MT II 1025A: Κατὰ τοῦτον ἡμεῖς γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπέρφωτον εὐχόμεθα γνόφον καὶ δι᾽ ἀβλεψίας καὶ ἀγνωσίας ἰδεῖν καὶ γνῶναι τὸν ὑπὲρ θέαν καὶ γνῶσιν [. . .]; MT II 1025B: ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρχικώτατα τὰς ἐπαναβάσεις ποιούμενοι τὰ πάντα ἀφαιροῦμεν, ἵνα ἀπερικαλύπτως γνῶμεν ἐκείνην τὴν ἀγνωσίαν τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν γνωστῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσι περικεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὸν ὑπερούσιον ἐκεῖνον ἴδωμεν γνόφον τὸν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι φωτὸς ἀποκρυπτόμενον.; MT III 1033B–1033C: καθάπερ καὶ νῦν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ νοῦν εἰσδύνοντες γνόφον οὐ βραχυλογίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀλογίαν παντελῆ καὶ ἀνοησίαν εὑρήσομεν.
   29. A questo proposito cfr. Puech 1938, in particolare 33–53.

4, 11 e 5, 22; II *Sam.* 22, 10; *I Regn.* 8, 12–53; *II Par.* 6, 1; *Psalm.* 18 (17), 9, 97(96), 2; *Iob* 22, 13; *Sir.* 45, 5.

L'aggettivo κρυφιομύστος (traducibile come "che inizia — sott. ai misteri — in modo segreto" o "che insegna arcanamente") è piuttosto raro.

Occorrenze:

   a) nessuna.

   b) nessuna.

   c) nessuna[30].

   d) nessuna.

   e) Ps.-Epiph., *Homilia in divini corporis sepulturam* (CPG 3768; BHG[n] 808e), PG 43, 453, linea 22: Οἱ δὲ προφῆταί τε καὶ δίκαιοι ἅπαντες λιτὰς ἀλήκτους κρυφιομύστως Θεῷ ἐκεῖθεν προσέφερον [. . .]. [31]

   Chrysipp. Hieros. (V sec.[32]) *Encomium in Joannem Baptistam*, p. 34 ed. Sigalas: ὦ πάτερ, σὺ μύστης τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς μυσταγωγικῆς λειτουργίας, σὺ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κάθοδον ἀενάως ὁρᾷς, σὺ τῶν ὑπερτάτων μυστηρίων τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ προσφέρεις, σὺ τὴν κρυφιόμυστον αἴνεσιν τῷ πρυτάνει τῶν ὅλων ἀναπέμπεις [. . .]). [33]

997 Β' "ὑπερπληροῦντα τοὺς ἀνομμάτους νοάς".

   a) ἀνόμματος / νοῦς

30. V'è un ulteriore riferimento alla "caligine sovraluminosa" in un altro luogo del corpus (MT II: Κατὰ τοῦτον ἡμεῖς γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπέρφωτον εὐχόμεθα γνόφον [. . .]).

31. Manca a tutt'oggi un'edizione critica dell'opera, cosa che rende di fatto impossibile determinare la datazione del passo.

32. Crisippo di Gerusalemme è una figura di cui conosciamo pochissimo. Il poco che sappiamo su di lui ci proviene da Cirillo di Scitopoli (che ne parla, *passim*, nella *Vita di Eutimio* — Schwarz 1939, 3–84), il quale lo descrive come vivente durante il regno di Teodosio II ed Eudocia.

33. Oltre alle occorrenze elencate, ve n'è un'ulteriore di un'opera attribuita a Giovanni Crisostomo (Ps.-Io. Chry., *In catenas sancti Petri* (CPG 4745; BHG 1486), in Batareikh 1908, sez. 45: Ἐνταῦθα δὲ, καιροῦ καλοῦντος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ σωτήριον πάθος ἔμελλεν ἐνεργεῖσθαι ἠρέμα καὶ κρυφιομύστως τοῦτο ὑποσημαίνειν βούλεται [. . .]). Tuttavia, dato che Paramelle sostiene che questo testo appartenga a una collezione metafrastica, si è ritenuto scientificamente necessario escluderlo (a questo proposito vedi CPG, vol. II pag. 611).

b) ἀνόμματος[34]
c) ὑπερπληρόω

Immagine originalissima per indicare le intelligenze angeliche (anche Giorgio Pachimere — l'erudito bizantino vissuto tra XIII e XIV sec., autore di una serie di scolii al *Corpus Areopagiticum* — la nota e sente di doverla chiarire: "le potenze angeliche divine, che in un altro senso sono provviste di molti occhi" PG 3, 1016C). Il verbo ὑπερπληρόω non è comune e presenta l'ὑπερ- tipico della prosa dionisiana.

Occorrenze:

a) nessuna.
b) Sophoc., *Philoctetes*, linea 856 ed. Lloyd Jones-Wilson, *Sophoclis fabulae,* Oxford 1990,: οὖρός τοι, τέκνον, οὖρος· ἀνὴρ δ' ἀνόμματος, οὐδ' ἔχων ἀρωγάν, ἐκτέταται νύχιος [. . .]
Asterius Soph., *Commentarii in Psalmos (homilie 31)*, omelia 29 sez. 6 ed. Richard: ἡ σελήνη φαίνει, ἀλλ' οὐ φωτίζεται ὁ ἀνόμματος· οἱ ἀστέρες ἀνατέλλουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ βλέπουσιν οἱ τοὺς ἀστέρας τῆς φύσεως ἀπολέσαντες.
Nonn. Epic., *Paraphrasis sancti evangelii Joannei (fort. auctore Nonno alio)*, demonstratio IX ed. Scheindler: καὶ βρέφος οὔποτε τοῖον ἀνόμματον ἥλικι κόσμῳ ἡνίοχος βιότοιο φυτοσπόρος ἤγαγεν αἰών.
Procl., *In Alcibiadem* I, sez. 64 ed. Westerink: διὸ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος ὁ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἀνόμματον ἀποκαλεῖ τὸν ἔρωτα ἐκεῖνον·'ποιμαίνων πραπίδεσσιν ἀνόμματον ὠκὺν Ἔρωτα'
Procl., *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria*, vol. II p. 85 ed. Diehl: οὔτε ἄρα ὀμμάτων δεῖται πρὸς τὴν ὅρασιν οὔτε ὤτων πρὸς τὴν ἀκοήν. καὶ ἔχει καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνόμματον κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦ νοητοῦ θεοῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἀπείκασται· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον ἀνόμματον Ἔρωτά φησιν ἔχειν Ὀρφεύς [frg. 68]. ποιμαίνων πραπίδεσσιν ἀνόμματον ὠκὺν Ἔρωτα.
Id., vol. III p. 101: ἴδιον γὰρ τὸ ὁρᾶν τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, ἐπεὶ τόν γε νοητὸν νοῦν καὶ ἀνόμματον ὁ θεολόγος [frg. 68] προσηγόρευσε· λέγει γοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ· ποιμαίνων πραπίδεσσιν ἀνόμματον ὠκὺν Ἔρωτα·
Olympiod., *In Platonis Alcibiadem I commentarii*, sez. 22 ed. Westerink: διό φησιν καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεύς· 'ποιμαίνων πραπίδεσσιν ἀνόμματον ὠκὺν

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34. È un aggettivo che lo Pseudo-Dionigi utilizza un'altra volta nel corpus (DN IV, 12, : ὅταν ἡ ψυχὴ θεοειδὴς γενομένη δι' ἑνώσεως ἀγνώστου ταῖς τοῦ ἀπροσίτου φωτὸς ἀκτῖσιν ἐπιβάλλει ταῖς ἀνομμάτοις ἐπιβολαῖς.

Ἔρωτα· ἀνόμματος γὰρ ὁ Ἔρως ὡς τῷ νῷ ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων, εἴγε εἴρηται· ʻνοῦς ὁρᾷ καὶ νοῦς ἀκούειʼ [. . .]
Olympiod., *In Phaedonem Platonis commentaria*, vol. I cap. 13 sez. 2 ed. Westerink: καὶ Ὀρφεὺς [frg. 82] ἐπεσημήνατο, νοητὸν βουλόμενος εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἔρωτα· ἔφη γὰρ ʻποιμαίνων πραπίδεσσιν ἀνόμματον ὠκὺν Ἔρωταʼ· τὸ γὰρ ὄμμα <νοῦ> σύμβολόν ἐστι διὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τῆς ἐνεργείας, ἀνόμματον οὖν τὸν μὴ νοοῦντα)·[35]

c) verbo piuttosto raro, usato principalmente nella letteratura medica (Galeno, Oribasio, Aezio medico, Aristotele nelle opere biologiche). Al di fuori della letteratura medica si trova in Senofonte e Aezio.

**997 B'' **"τάς αἰσθήσεις ἀπόλειπε καὶ τὰς νοερὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ πάντα αἰσθετὰ καὶ νοητὰ [. . .]"

 a) αἴσθησις / ἀπολείπω
 b) ἀπολείπω / αἰσθητός / νοητός

L'abbandono delle sensazioni e delle operazioni intellettuali, qui espresso in forma di comando, è il fondamento della ascesi nel sistema di teologia mistica dello pseudo-Dionigi. In questa ricerca si è tenuto conto delle occorrenze dei sintagmi solo quando accostati nel senso dato da Dionigi, ovvero quando le sensazioni (αἰσθήσεις) e le intellezioni (νοητά) sono oggetto del verbo.

 a) nessuna
 b) nessuna

1000A "πρὸς τὸν ὑπερούσιον τοῦ θείου σκότους ἀκτῖνα"

 a) ὑπερούσιος / θεῖος / σκότος
 b) θεῖος / σκότος / ἀκτίς

35. È notevole che tutti gli autori cronologicamente più vicini allo Pseudo-Dionigi (Nonno di Panopoli, Olimpiodoro e Proclo) hanno l'occorrenza dell'aggettivo all'interno della citazione di un medesimo frammento orfico, di cui il *Commento al Timeo* di Proclo è la fonte più antica (per la fonte del frammento vedi Arrighetti 1959, 115). Il dato ormai incontestabile che l'autore — o gli autori — del *Corpus Areopagiticum* sia stato un attento lettore di Proclo permette di ipotizzare ragionevolmente che anche lui dipenda dalla citazione del frammento orfico tràdita all'interno del commentario procliano.

c) ὑπερούσιος/ σκότος / ἀκτίς
d) ὑπερούσιος / ἀκτίς
e) θεῖος / σκότος

L'immagina della tenebra divina è tipica dell'immaginario dionisiano[36].

a) nessuna
b) nessuna
c) nessuna
d) nessuna
e) nessuna

1000B "τὴν πάντων ὑπερκειμένην αἰτὶα"

a) πᾶς / ὑπερκείμενος / αἰτία
b) ὑπερκείμενος / αἰτία
c) ὑπερκείμενος

É una definizione cara a Dionigi, che la ripete poco dopo (MT I 3, 1000C: [. . .] ἐστιν ἡ ἀγαθὴ πάντων αἰτία καὶ βραχύλεκτος ἅμα καὶ ἄλογος, ὡς οὔτε λόγον οὔτε νόησιν ἔχουσα, διὰ τὸ πάντων αὐτὴν ὑπερουσίως ὑπερκειμένην εἶναι.).

Occorrenze:

a) nessuna
b) Greg. Nyss., *Contra Eunomium*, vol. I cap. I sez. 573 ed. Jaeger: ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὸν καθόλου θεὸν ἑαυτοῦ τις ποιησάμενος οὐδὲν τὴν ἐπὶ πάντων ἀξίαν ἠμαύρωσεν, οὕτως οὐδέν ἐστι κώλυμα τὸν πατέρα [καὶ] τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν πάσης κτίσεως πρωτότοκον ἀναδείξαντα ὁμοῦ τὸ γεγεννηκέναι τὸν υἱὸν διὰ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς προσηγορίας σημαίνειν καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐξ αἰτίας ὑπερκειμένης εἶναι διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑρμηνεύειν φωνῆς. Id., *Contra Eunomium*, vol. II cap. 1 sez. 18 ed. cit.: τὸ γὰρ μὴ ἔκ τινος ὑπερκειμένης αἰτίας εἶναι τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας διδασκούσης, οὗτοι ἀγεννησίαν ὠνόμασαν τὸ τοιοῦτον νόημα, καὶ τὴν ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ μονογενοῦς ὑπόστασιν τῷ τῆς γεννήσεως διασημαίνουσι ῥήματι [. . .]. Id., *Contra Eunomium*, vol. II cap. 1 sez. 158 ed. cit.: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν ἡμῖν τὸ εὐσεβὲς ἰχνεύοντες τὸ μὴ ἐξ αἰτίας ὑπερκειμένης

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36. Puech 1938, 33–53.

τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχειν καταλαμβάνομεν. Non continuo a riportare i passi, ma vi sono innumerevoli occorrenze di questa espressione — evidentemente adatta alla teologia di Gregorio di Nissa e, come si vedrà subito, a quella dei Cappadoci in generale — nel *Contra Eunomium*, così come ve ne sono anche in altre opere del Nisseno: *Contra Fatum, In Basilium Fratrem, Adversus Macedonianos de Spiritu Sancto*. Basil. Caes., *Adversus Eunomium (libri 5)*, PG 29, 545: Ἐξετάζων γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ νοῦς, εἰ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς ἑαυτοῦ τινα αἰτίαν ὑπερκειμένην ἔχει, εἶτα οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπινοεῖν οὐδεμίαν, τὸ ἄναρχον αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἀγέννητον προσηγόρευσεν.

Herm. Phil., *In Platonis Phaedrum scholia*, p. 41 ed. cit.: καὶ τοῦτο σημαίνει παρὰ τοῖς θεολόγοις τὸ ἔλαθε τὸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἰδιότητα ἐνεργεῖν καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὑπερκειμένων αἰτίαν σύμπνοιαν·

Procl., *Institutio Theologica*, sez. 56 ed. Dodds: εἰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ παράγειν δύναμιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης αἰτίας ἔλαχε, παρ' ἐκείνης ἔχει τὸ εἶναι αἴτιον ὧν ἐστιν αἴτιον, μετρηθὲν ἐκεῖθεν κατὰ τὴν ὑποστατικὴν δύναμιν.

c) Il verbo ὑπερκείμαι è un verbo comune nella letteratura greca antica. Da uno spoglio integrale delle occorrenze, emerge che il verbo compare principalmente nella letteratura scientifica: in quella geografica, sia terrestre che celeste, dove viene usato per dare indicazioni topografiche (vi sono molte occorrenze in Stobeo, Claudio Tolomeo, nell'astronomo di età imperiale Cleomede), e in quella medica (*Corpus Hippocraticum*, Oribasio e Galeno); in tutte queste occorrenze, il participio ha il significato di "superiore", "sovrastante". Ancora i teologi tardoantichi, sia pagani che cristiani (Ireneo, Clemente, Ippolito, Plotino, Porfirio), lo usano in solo in questo senso. Nel greco più tardo però, il termine acquista il significato di "trascendente"[37]; Il primo trapasso verso questo significato sembra comparire in Cirillo di Alessandria (per es. *Commento al Vangelo di Luca* (CPG 5207; BHG 1963), PG 72: Εἶτα τούτοις ἑτέραν ἀπόδειξιν εὐθὺς ἐπιφέρει· Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ὕδατι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί. Μόνης γὰρ καὶ ἰδικῶς ἔργον ἐστὶ τῆς πάντα ὑπερκειμένης οὐσίας, τὸ ἐνιέναι δύνασθαί τισι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ θείας φύσεως κοινωνοὺς ἀποφαίνειν τοὺς προσιόντας αὐτῇ· ἐνυπάρχει δὲ τοῦτο, οὐ κατὰ λῆψιν καὶ μέθεξιν τὴν παρ' ἑτέρου τινός, ἀλλ' οἴκοθεν καὶ οὐσιωδῶς τῷ Χριστῷ· βαπτίζει γὰρ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι. Θεὸς οὖν ἄρα ἐστί, καὶ καρπὸς τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας

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37. Come attestato anche da LSJ "ὑπερκείμαι" A. 2.

Λόγος·), in cui comunque i due significati continuare a coesistere. Il LSJ segnala un'opera di Damascio (*De pr.* 164), da parte pagana, come luogo dello *shift* semantico.

1000C "Οὕτω γοῦν ὁ θεῖος Βαρθολομαῖός φησι καὶ πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐλαχίστην"

πολύς / θεολογία / ἐλαχύς

Questo sintagma rivela la concezione dell'autore in materia di esegesi biblica, ed è perciò di enorme importanza per individuare la sua adesione a — o provenienza da — una scuola teologica o a un'altra. L'idea che la sacra scrittura (θεολογία) sia "molta e minima" sembra indicare che l'autore individuasse una molteplicità di livelli di lettura del testo sacro, idea che sta alla base della prassi esegetica alessandrina. Nel I secolo ad Alessandria, centro vivo della diaspora ebraica, Filone ebreo per primo aveva adottato l'interpretazione morale, che i greci facevano dei loro poemi arcaici, applicandola alla sacra scrittura: da quel momento, passando attraverso figure come Clemente e Origene, l'allegoresi metafisica del mito — greco o biblico — è divenuto un tratto specifico del Cristianesimo egiziano, che lo distingueva dall'interpretazione invece principalmente letteralista della scuola di Antiochia, nella quale autori come Teodoro di Mopsuestia o Teodoreto di Cirro tendevano a concedere una interpretazione che superasse la lettera solo per le interpretazioni tipologiche più tradizionali. Questo modo di intendere il testo sacro sarà poi adoperato e sistematizzato in modo rigoroso dai neoplatonici. In questo sintagma quindi la "parola di dio" (θεολογία) può essere grande e minima proprio perché il suo significato non si esaurisce nel significato letterale, ma come una campana che, una volta percossa, è in grado di produrre infiniti echi, così la lettera della sacra scrittura può aprirsi a significati sempre nuovi aldilà del senso storico-materiale.

Occorrenze: nessuna.

1000C' "[. . .] τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα καὶ αὖθις συντετμημένον [. . .]"

- a) Εὐαγγέλιον / πλατύς / συντετμημένος
- b) Εὐαγγέλιον / μέγας / συντετμημένος
- c) συντετμημένος (in riferimento alla sacra scrittura)

Questo sintagma è una *variatio* dell'idea della molteplicità dei livelli di lettura della scrittura descritta nel sintagma precedente.

Occorrenze:

a) nessuna.

b) nessuna.

c) Greg. Nys., *In Canticum canticorum (Homiliae 15)*, vol. VI p. 418 ed. Langerbeck: [. . .] πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς σοφίας εἶναι τὰ παραγγέλματα πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα σκοπόν, τὸν δὲ συντετμημένον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λόγον εἰς εὐαρίθμητόν τε καὶ συνεσταλμένον ἀγαγεῖν πᾶσαν τοῦ κατ' ἀρετὴν βίου τὴν τελειότητα οὕτως εἰπόντος τοῦ κυρίου ὅτι Ἐν ταύταις ταῖς δυσὶν ἐντολαῖς ὅλος ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται κρέμανται.

Greg. Naz., *Oratio XVI (In patrem tacentem)*, (CPG 3010) PG 35, 936: Ταύτην ἐπαινῶ τὴν σοφίαν ἐγώ, ταύτην ἀσπάζομαι, δι' ἣν ἀγεννεῖς ἐδοξάσθησαν, καὶ εἰς ἣν ἐξουθενήμενοι προετιμήθησαν, καὶ μεθ' ἧς ἁλιεῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην τοῖς τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου δεσμοῖς ἐσαγήνευσαν, τῷ συντετελεσμένῳ καὶ συντετμημένῳ λόγῳ, τὴν καταργουμένην σοφίαν νικήσαντες.

Id., *Oratio XXVII (Adversus Eunomianos)*, sez. 1 ed. Barbel: οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος καλεῖ πᾶν τὸ ἐν λόγῳ περιττὸν καὶ περίεργον, ὁ τοῦ συντετμημένου λόγου κῆρυξ καὶ βεβαιωτής[38], ὁ τῶν ἁλιέων μαθητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος.

Cyr. Alex., *Fragmenta in sancti Pauli epistulam ad Romanos*, vol. 3 p. 234 ed. Pusey: Ἔσωσε δέ φησιν λόγον συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων, τουτέστιν εὐφυὲς καὶ σύντομον καὶ ἵν' οὕτως εἴπω συντετμημένον λόγιον ἡμῖν ἀποφήνας τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν κήρυγμα. ὁ γὰρ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται διὰ πολλοῦ κύκλου λόγων μόλις ἡμῖν τὰς τῶν λεγομένων ἐννοίας διὰ τοῦ γράμματος παριστῶσι· τὸ δὲ κήρυγμα τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν ἁπλοῦν τέ ἐστι καὶ λόγος συντετμημένος.

Id., *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam*(CPG 5203), PG 70, 640: Ἦν δὲ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν κύκλοις, καὶ ἐν μακραῖς τοῦ γράμματος περιόδοις τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωρήματα. Τὸ δέ γε σωτήριον κήρυγμα τελειοτάτην ἔχει καὶ συντετμημένην ὁδόν· I diversi autori traggono il participio aggettivale da un passo di *Isaia* (10, 23), citato da Paolo nell'*Epistola ai Romani* (9, 28).

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38. Qui Gregorio di Nazianzo si riferisce alla citazione di *Isaia* 10, 23 inserita da Paolo in *Romani* (9, 28).

1000C" "ὅτι καὶ πολύλογός ἐστιν ἡ ἀγαθὴ πάντων αἰτία καὶ βραχύλεκτος ἅμα καὶ ἄλογος"

- a) πολύλογος / αἰτία / βραχύλεκτος
- b) πολύλογος / αἰτία / ἄλογος
- c) πολύλογος / βραχύλεκτος / ἄλογος
- d) πολύλογος / βραχύλεκτος
- e) πολύλογος / ἄλογος
- f) βραχύλεκτος

Anche per questo sintagma vale quanto spiegato per i due precedenti.

Occorrenze:

- a) nessuna.
- b) nessuna.
- c) nessuna.
- d) nessuna.
- e) nessuna.
- f) nessuna. È una parola coniata dallo pseudo-Dionigi

1000C''' "διὰ τὸ πάντων αὐτὴν ὑπερουσίως ὑπερκειμένην εἶναι"

- a) πᾶς / ὑπερούσιος / ὑπερκείμενος
- b) ὑπερούσιος / ὑπερκείμενος

Espressione teologica fortemente platonizzante, in cui ritorna il suffisso ὑπερ- tipico della prosa dionisiana.

Occorrenze:

- a) nessuna.
- b) nessuna.[39].

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39. Dionigi accosta "ipersostanziale" e "oltregiacente" anche in un altro luogo del Corpus, DN I 1, 588B: Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄληπτα καὶ ἀθεώρητα τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ἐστι τὰ νοητὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐν πλάσει καὶ τύπῳ τὰ ἁπλᾶ καὶ ἀτύπωτα, τοῖς τε κατὰ σωμάτων σχήματα μεμορφωμένοις ἡ τῶν ἀσωμάτων ἀναφὴς καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος ἀμορφία, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγον ὑπέρκειται τῶν οὐσιῶν ἡ ὑπερούσιος ἀπειρία καὶ τῶν νοῶν ἡ ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἑνότης.

1000C″″ "καὶ μόνοις ἀπερικαλύπτως καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐκφαινομένην τοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐναγῆ πάντα καὶ τὰ καθαρὰ διαβαίνουσι"

ἐναγής / καθαρός / διαβαίνω

In questo passo lo pseudo-Dionigi spiega che la causa prima di tutte le cose si manifesta solo a coloro che si liberano di tutte le cose, empie ma anche pure. La necessità di disfarsi delle rappresentazioni, anche quelle più alte — come ad esempio quelle presenti nei testi sacri -, è necessaria per poter raggiungere il divino nella sua autentica natura. Lo pseudo-Dionigi sembra considerare ogni tipo di rappresentazione del divino (sia impura, come quelle degli eretici, che ortodossa, come quelle che proviene dai testi sacri) come uno stadio che deve essere superato dal vero cristiano. Ogni rappresentazione infatti si determina come affermazione dell'alterità divina: alterità che nel pensiero dello pseudo-Dionigi è qualcosa di molto prossimo all'idolatria, o quantomeno a una forma impura di religiosità, in cui il cristiano degrada la propria fede a un attaccamento a mere immagini o metafore, solo parziali "segni" del vero divino trascendente[40]. In un lungo passaggio del *De coelesti hierarchia* (II, 1, 136d — 137b), l'autore pronuncia una sorta di discorso di biasimo (ψόγος) contro coloro che "sacrilegamente" (ἀνιέρως) considerano le sue manifestazioni come il divino stesso: ὅπως μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡσαύτως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνιέρως οἰώμεθα τοὺς οὐρανίους καὶ θεοειδεῖς νόας πολύποδας εἶναί τινας καὶ πολυπροσώπους καὶ πρὸς βοῶν κτηνωδίαν ἢ πρὸς λεόντων θηριομορφίαν τετυπωμένους καὶ πρὸς ἀετῶν ἀγκυλόχειλον εἶδος ἢ πρὸς πτηνῶν τριχώδη πτεροφυίαν διαπεπλασμένους καὶ τροχούς τινας πυρώδεις ὑπὲρ τὸν οὐρανὸν φανταζώμεθα καὶ θρόνους ὑλαίους τῇ θεαρχίᾳ πρὸς ἀνάκλισιν ἐπιτηδείους καὶ ἵππους τινὰς πολυχρωμάτους καὶ δορυφόρους ἀρχιστρατήγους καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἱεροπλάστως ἐν ποικιλίᾳ τῶν ἐκφαντορικῶν συμβόλων παραδέδοται. Καὶ γὰρ ἀτεχνῶς ἡ θεολογία ταῖς ποιητικαῖς ἱεροπλαστίαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσχηματίστων νοῶν ἐχρήσατο τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς εἴρηται νοῦν ἀνασκεψαμένη καὶ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῷ καὶ συμφυοῦς ἀναγωγῆς προνοήσασα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναπλάσασα τὰς ἀναγωγικὰς ἱερογραφίας.

Questa ipertrofia della *via negativa* è assolutamente caratteristica dello pseudo-Dionigi.

Occorrenze: nessuna.

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40. Su questo vedi Sassi 2016, 770–783.

1000D "Τοῦτο δὲ οἶμαι σημαίνειν τὸ τὰ θειότατα καὶ ἀκρότατα τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ νοουμένων ὑποθετικούς τινας εἶναι λόγους τῶν ὑποβεβλημένων τῷ πάντα ὑπερέχοντι"

ὁρώμενον / νοούμενον[41] / ὑποθετικός

Affermazione cruciale per intendere la natura divina come intesa dall'autore e del suo rapporto con le varie rappresentazioni che ne può dare la teologia biblica e la teologia naturale. In virtù delle leggi metafisiche che regolano il cosmo secondo i platonici, l'Uno trascende ogni cosa e ogni determinazione. Per questo motivo, anche le "le più divine e più alte delle cose viste o pensate" ([. . .]τὰ θειότατα καὶ ἀκρότατα τῶν ὁρωμένων καὶ νοουμένων [. . .]) sono solo *hypotetikoì lógoi*, "indicazioni provvisorie", addirittura solo di "quanto è sottoposto" (τῶν ὑποβεβλημένων) al primo principio. Ogni fenomeno della natura, ogni immagine presente nei testi sacri, ogni concetto che la mente possa afferrare non è che un'analogia. Ogniqualvolta si concepisce il divino come caratterizzato (attraverso un attributo positivo, e.g. Dio è l'essere, Dio è il bene, o caratterizzato attraverso uno dei nomi divini che appaiono nella scrittura, e.g. Dio è il Signore, Dio è l'antico dei giorni), non si sta parlando della realtà assolutamente prima. Ovvero, non si sta parlando dell'autentico divino, ma solo di o 1) I livelli inferiori della gerarchia attraverso I quali esso comunica il suo potere causale (*videlicet* quelli che Dionigi chiama παραδείγματα[42], il cui statuto è

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41. Si segnala che un solo codice, Ve, omette νοουμένων.
42. Secondo lo Pseudo-Dionigi ogni attributo e ogni particulare determinazione di qualunque ente ha una causa che trascende il mondo sensibile, e che l'autore chiama *δύναμις e παράδειγμα* : [. . .] πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντων αἰτίας προϋφεστάναι τὰ πάντων τῶν ὄντων παραδείγματα κατὰ μίαν ὑπερούσιον ἕνωσιν συγχωρητέον, ἐπεὶ καὶ οὐσίας παράγει κατὰ τὴν ἀπὸ οὐσίας ἔκβασιν. Παραδείγματα δέ φαμεν εἶναι τοὺς ἐν θεῷ τῶν ὄντων οὐσιοποιοὺς καὶ ἑνιαίως προϋφεστῶτας λόγους, οὓς ἡ θεολογία προορισμοὺς καλεῖ καὶ θεῖα καὶ ἀγαθὰ θελήματα, τῶν ὄντων ἀφοριστικὰ καὶ ποιητικά, καθ' οὓς ὁ ὑπερούσιος τὰ ὄντα πάντα καὶ προώρισε καὶ παρήγαγεν. (*De divinis nominibus* V, 9, 824c). Seguendo questa affermazione, essere buono è possibile grazie all'essenza trascendente del Buono-in-sé (Bontà trascendente), essere simili grazie all'essenza trascendente sel Simile-in-sé (similarità trascendente), essere bello per l'essenza trascendente del Bello-in-sé (Bellezza trascendente) e così via per ogni attributo. Tramite i loro attributi gli enti partecipano alle rispettive essenze trascendenti: Καὶ εἰ βούλει τῶν ζώντων ὡς ζώντων ἀρχὴν φάναι τὴν αὐτοζωὴν καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὡς ὁμοίων τὴν αὐτοομοιότητα

piuttosto problematico ma che ricordano molto gli archetipi iperuranici di Platone), o 2) dei simboli e delle immagini presenti nei testi sacri attraverso i quali esso si manifesta[43] (*videlicet* i nomi divini).

Occorrenze: nessuna.

De mystica theologia, *Capitolo II.*

1025A "Κατὰ τοῦτον ἡμεῖς γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπέρφωτον εὐχόμεθα γνόφον καὶ δι᾽ ἀβλεψίας καὶ ἀγνωσίας ἰδεῖν"

ἀβλεψία / ἀγνωσία[44] / ὁράω

καὶ τῶν ἡνωμένων ὡς ἡνωμένων τὴν αὐτοένωσιν καὶ τῶν τεταγμένων ὡς τεταγμένων τὴν αὐτόταξιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσα τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδε ἢ ἀμφοτέρων ἢ πολλῶν μετέχοντα τόδε ἢ τόδε ἢ ἀμφότερα ἢ πολλά ἐστι, τὰς αὐτομετοχὰς εὑρήσεις τοῦ εἶναι πρῶτον αὐτὰς μετεχούσας καὶ τῷ εἶναι πρῶτον μὲν οὔσας, ἔπειτα τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδε ἀρχὰς οὔσας καὶ τῷ μετέχειν τοῦ εἶναι καὶ οὔσας καὶ μετεχομένας. *(De divinis nominibus* V, 5, 820b–820c). Ora, lo status di questi paradigmi trascendenti — che richiamano palesemente gli archetipi platonici — è ambiguo: essi sembrano essere parte di un livello intelligibile della gerarchia cosmica situato tra la divinità e le nature create, ma non è per niente chiaro come precisamente lo Pseudo-Dionigi il concepisca o dove il sistemi all'interno della sua tassonomia degli enti. In *De divinis nominibus* VII 4, 872c sembrano essere parte della divinità stessa: "Λόγος" δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὑμνεῖται πρὸς τῶν ἱερῶν λογίων οὐ μόνον, ὅτι καὶ λόγου καὶ νοῦ καὶ σοφίας ἐστὶ χορηγός, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι καὶ τὰς πάντων αἰτίας ἐν ἑαυτῷ μονοειδῶς προείληφε [. . .]. In altri passaggi però (come in *De divinis nominibus* V, 5, 820b–820c citato sopra) la relazione tra il divino e le idee archetipiche assomiglia a quella esistente tra Dio e tutte le altre nature create. Corsini (1962) considera le idee come il più alto livello della gerarchia delle nature create, mentre Brons (1976), è più cauto e non va oltre l'indicazione dell'ambiguità.

43. Lo Pseudo-Dionigi spiega che anche se in ultima analisi questi nomi e simboli sono inadeguati, essi sono tuttavia indispensabili perché il divino sia compreso dai più: dipende poi dal singolo, per quanto è possibile alle sue capacità, superare queste rappresentazioni: il mistico, ovvero colui che è riuscito a superarle tutte, raggiunge l'unione (*De Coelesti hierarchia* I, 2, 121b): [. . .] τοὺς ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν ὡς θεμιτὸν ἀνανεύοντας ἀναλόγως αὐτοῖς ἀνατείνει καὶ ἑνοποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἁπλωτικὴν αὐτῆς ἕνωσιν.

44. Si segnala l'inversione di ἀβλεψίας / ἀγνωσίας all'interno del codice Ve.

Come esito delle premesse fissate da Dionigi nel I capitolo e descritte nelle analisi precedenti, conoscere il divino non può coincidere con la conoscenza di un certo contenuto, del pensiero o tanto meno dei sensi. La conoscenza di Dio si realizza dunque attraverso una cecità e un'ignoranza (δι' ἀβλεψίας καὶ ἀγνωσίας) dell'anima, che si converte così verso ciò che trascende tutti i contenuti della visione e delle conoscenza.

Occorrenze: nessuna.

1025A' "[. . .] καὶ τὸν ὑπερούσιον ὑπερουσίως ὑμνῆσαι [. . .]"

    a) ὑπερούσιος / ὑπερουσίως / ὑμνέω
    b) ὑπερουσίως / ὑμνέω

É parte di una formula tipicamente dionisiana l'accostare le espressioni "ipersostanziale" e "inneggiare"[45].

Occorrenze:

    a) nessuna.
    b) Io. Philop., *De opificio mundi*, p. 42 ed. Reichardt: εἰ παντὸς σώματος καὶ πάσης διαστάσεως δημιουργός ἐστιν ὁ θεός, μηδὲν εἶναι τούτων αὐτὸν ὧν ἐποίησεν ἀνάγκη, διὸ καὶ ὑπερούσιος ὑμνεῖται ὡς πάσης οὐσίας παρακτικὸς καὶ ὑπὲρ αἰῶνας, ὁ ὑπάρχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, ὅτι καὶ αἰώνων ἐστὶ ποιητής·

1025B "τὴν ἀγνωσίαν τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν γνωστῶν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσι περικεκαλυμμένην"

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45. Si ritrova in: DN IV 7, 704B: Τολμήσει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ὁ λόγος, ὅτι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὂν μετέχει τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, τότε γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ὅταν ἐν θεῷ κατὰ τὴν πάντων ἀφαίρεσιν ὑπερουσίως ὑμνεῖται.; DN V 8, 824A: Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τῶν λογίων ὁ ὄντως προὼν κατὰ πᾶσαν τῶν ὄντων ἐπίνοιαν πολλαπλασιάζεται, καὶ τὸ ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔστι καὶ τὸ ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἐγένετο καὶ γίνεται καὶ γενήσεται κυρίως ὑμνεῖται. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοπρεπῶς ὑμνοῦσι τὸ κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτὸν ἐπίνοιαν ὑπερουσίως εἶναι σημαίνει καὶ τῶν πανταχῶς ὄντων αἴτιον.; CH II 3, 140C: Ἀμέλει καὶ τὴν σεβασμίαν τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεαρχίας μακαριότητα τῶν ἐκφαντορικῶν λογίων αἱ μυστικαὶ παραδόσεις ποτὲ μὲν ὡς λόγον καὶ νοῦν καὶ οὐσίαν ὑμνοῦσι [. . .].

Immagine particolarissima dell'ignoranza, vero oggetto cercato nel cammino spirituale del mistico secondo lo Pseudo-Dionigi, "nascosta in tutto dalle cose che sono conosciute". Caratteristico della lingua tardoantica è il frequente uso dei participi perfetti, come quello del verbo περικαλύπτω usato qui.

Ἀγνωσία / γνωστῶν / περικαλύπτω[46]

Occorrenze: nessuna.

De mystica theologia, *Capitolo III.*

1032D–1033A "Ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς Θεολογικαῖς Ὑποτυπώσεσι τὰ κυριώτατα τῆς καταφατικῆς θεολογίας ὑμνήσαμεν [. . .]"

Θεολογικαῖς / Ὑποτυπώσεσι

Qui l'autore nomina le *Ipotiposi teologiche:* Dionigi cita, insieme a questa, una serie di sue opere della cui inesistenza siamo praticamente certi. In questa analisi si è tenuto conto di questo titolo per individuare eventuali dipendenze dal titolo o dal contenuto di scritti teologici coevi.

Occorrenze: nessuna.

1033A' "Ἐν δὲ τῇ Συμβολικῇ Θεολογίᾳ, τίνες αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα μετωνυμίαι, [. . .]"

Συμβολικῇ / Θεολογίᾳ

Anche la *Teologia simbolica* è una delle opere che lo Pseudo-Dionigi descrive come sua, e viene qui indagata per le stesse ragioni citate sopra per le *Ipotiposi teologiche.*

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46. Si segnala che quattro codici recano κεκαλυμμένην in luogo di περικεκαλυμμένην: Fa + Ke — che però successivamente correggono -, e Pn + Ra — che lasciano la lettura diversa. In ogni caso l'*emendatio* degli editori, che grazie alla preposizione spaziale περι- dà una sfumatura leggermente più materiale al participio perfetto, è ben accettabile perché filosoficamente ininfluente.

Occorrenze: nessuna[47].

1033C "[. . .] ὅλως ἑνωθήσεται τῷ ἀφθέγκτῳ".

    a) ὅλως[48] / ἑνόω / ἄφθεγκτος
    b) ἄφθεγκτος

Espressione che rivela caratteristiche tipiche del pensiero dello Pseudo-Dionigi: l'unificazione completa (ὅλως ἑνωθήσεται) al divino caratterizzato come "l'inannunciabile" (τῷ ἀφθέγκτῳ).

Occorrenze:

    a) nessuna.
    b) Aesch. *Eumenides*, linea 245 ed. Page: Χο. εἶέν· τόδ' ἐστὶ τἀνδρὸς ἐκφανὲς τέκμαρ· ἕπου δὲ μηνυτῆρος ἀφθέγκτου φραδαῖς· τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς κύων νεβρὸν [. . .]
    Sophocles Trag., *Oedipus Coloneus*, linea 156 ed. Lloyd Jones-Wilson: περᾷς· ἀλλ' ἵνα τῷδ' ἐν ἀφθέγκτῳ μὴ προπέσῃς νάπει ποιάεντι, κάθυδρος οὗ [. . .]
    Bacchylides Lyr., *Hymnorum* fragmenta, framm. 3 ed. Irigoin: Αἰαῖ τέκος ἀμέτερον, μεῖζον ἢ πενθεῖν ἐφάνη κακόν, ἀφθέγκτοισιν ἶσον.
    Plat., *Sophista, Stephanus* p. 238 c ed. Burnet: οὔτ' εἰπεῖν οὔτε διανοηθῆναι τὸ μὴ ὂν αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτό, ἀλλ'ἔστιν ἀδιανόητόν τε καὶ ἄρρητον καὶ ἄφθεγκτον καὶ ἄλογον; {ΘΕΑΙ.} Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.
    Plat., *Sophista,* Stephanus page 238e ed. cit.: {ΘΕΑΙ.} Ναί. {ΞΕ.} Καὶ μὴν αὖ καὶ σμικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἄφθεγκτόν τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἄρρητον καὶ ἄλογον ἔφην εἶναι. Συνέπῃ;
    Plat., *Sophista,* Stephanus page 239a ed. cit.: {ΘΕΑΙ.} Ναί. {ΞΕ.} Καὶ μὴν ἄλογόν γε λέγων καὶ ἄρρητον καὶ ἄφθεγκτον ὥς γε πρὸς ἓν τὸν λόγον ἐποιούμην.
    Dio. Chrys. Soph., *Oratione* XII, sez. 65 ed. von Arnim: μᾶλλον ἢ φωνῆς καὶ λέξεως· τούτου δὲ μόνου κέκτηται θαυμαστόν τινα πλοῦτον.

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47. Eccetto le citazioni nell'opera di Giovanni di Scitopoli, la quale però non ci fornisce informazioni utili su queste opere poiché dipende, nelle loro conoscenza, dal Corpus stesso.
48. Si segnala la lezione ὅλος in luogo di ὅλως in Fb + Lc + Le + Pb + Py + Ra + Rc + Vb + Ja. Anche questo caso a livello filosofico non c'è differenza significativa tra le due lezioni.

οὐδὲν γοῦν παραλέλοιπεν ἄφθεγκτον οὐδὲ ἄσημον τῶν πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἀφικνουμένων [. . .]

Anon., *Acta Joannis*, sez. 113 ed. Bonnet: παρὰ σοῦ ἐτέλεσα, καταξίωσόν με τῆς σῆς ἀναπαύσεως τὸ ἐν σοὶ τέλος χαριζόμενός μοι, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄρρητος καὶ ἄφθεγκτος σωτηρία.

Julius Pollux Gramm., *Onomasticon*, lib. VI sez. 209 ed. Bethe: ὡμολογημένως. τὰ δ᾽ ἐναντία ἄδηλον, ἀφανές, ἀσαφές, ἄγνωστον, ἀνέλεγκτον, ἀπόρρητον, ἀνέκπυστον, ἄφθεγκτον, σεσιγημένον, ἀνέκφορον, ἐπικεκρυμμένον, κρυπτόν κρυπτόμενον ἐπικρυπτόμενον

Id., lib. V sez. 147: τὰ κρυπτόμενα, τὰ ἄρρητα, τὰ σιωπῆς ἄξια, τὰ ἄφθεγκτα, τὰ ἀνέκφορα, τὰ λανθάνοντα, τὰ συσκιαζόμενα, τὰ στεγόμενα.

Anon., *Oracula Chaldaica. Oracula (fragmenta) (olim sub auctore Juliano Theurgo)*, oracolo 77 ed. des Places: αἵ γε νοούμεναι <ἐκ> πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί, βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοις κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.

Id., *Oracula Chaldaica. Oracula (fragmenta) (olim sub auctore Juliano Theurgo)*, oracolo 191: ἄφθεγκτος.

Clem. Alex., *Stromata*, lib. V cap. 12 sez. 79 ed. Früchtel-Stählin-Treu: ραγγελίας τινὸς τὸ «οὐκ ἐξὸν» προστιθείς, δυνάμει δὲ ἀνθρωπείᾳ ἄφθεγκτον εἶναι τὸ θεῖον μηνύων, εἴ γε ὑπὲρ οὐρανὸν τὸν τρίτον ἄρχεται λαλεῖσθαι, ὡς θέμις, τοῖς ἐκεῖ μυσταγωγοῦσιν τὰς ἐξειλεγμένας

Origen. Alex., *Fragmenta de principiis*, framm. 33 ed. Görgemanns-Karpp: εἶχε τῆς ἰδίας ʼδόξηςʼ, ἵνα τολμήσας τις ἀρχὴν δῷ εἶναι υἱοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ὄντος; πότε δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ ἀφθέγκτου ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ʼεἰκώνʼ, ὁ ʼχαρακτήρʼ, <ὁ> λόγος ὁ ʼγινώσκων τὸν πατέραʼἀρρήτου καὶ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ ἀφθέγκτου ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ʼεἰκώνʼ, ὁ ʼχαρακτήρʼ, <ὁ> λόγος ὁ ʼγινώσκων τὸν πατέραʼ

Ps.- Origen. Alex., Fragmenta in Psalmos 1–150, salmo 118 verso 169 ed. Pitra: Θεὸς οὐκ ἐν τόπῳ ἐστίν, δύναμις γάρ ἐστιν ἄρρητος καὶ ἄφθεγκτος καὶ ἀόρατος. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τόποις ὁ Θεὸς [. . .]

Porphy. Phil., *De philosophia ex oraculis*, p. 138 ed. Wolff: ἡμέρη, ἠδὲ Κρόνον ἠδ᾽ ἐξείης Ἀφροδίτην κλήσεσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὗρε μάγων ὄχ᾽ ἄριστος, τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεύς, ὃν πάντες ἴσασιν.

Iamblichus Phil., *De mysteriis*, cap. 7 sez. 4 ed. des Places: σημαντικός τε καὶ μηνυτικός, ἀλλ᾽ ἤτοι νοερῶς [κατὰ τὸν θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπειον νοῦν] ἢ καὶ ἀφθέγκτως καὶ κρειττόνως καὶ ἁπλουστέρως [καὶ] κατὰ νοῦν τοῖς θεοῖς

Id., *De mysteriis*, cap. 2 sez. 11 ed. cit.: σιουργία ἥ τε τῶν νοουμένων τοῖς θεοῖς μόνον συμβόλων ἀφθέγκτων δύναμις ἐντίθησι τὴν θεουργικὴν ἕνωσιν. Διόπερ οὐδὲ τῷ νοεῖν αὐτὰ ἐνεργοῦμεν· ἔσται

Id., *De mysteriis*, cap. 7 sez. 5 ed. cit.: θεμιτόν ἐστιν. Τοιαῦτα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν τε ἀφθέγκτων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων μὲν καλουμένων ἱεροπρεπῶν δὲ ὄντων πρὸς σὲ ἀποκρινόμεθα.

Id., *De mysteriis*, cap. 2 sez. 4 ed. cit.: Κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν πῦρ ἄτομον ἄφθεγκτον ἐκλάμπει, καὶ πληροῖ τὰ ὅλα βάθη τοῦ κόσμου πυρίως ἀλλ' οὐ περικοσμίως. Τὸ δὲ

Id., *De mysteriis*, cap. 6 sez. 7 ed. cit.: κεκρυμμένα ἀεὶ διατηρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ τὴν ἄφθεγκτον τῶν θεῶν οὐσίαν μηδέποτε τῆς ἐναντίας μεταλαμβάνειν μοίρας), τοῦτο οὐδ' ἄχρι φωνῆς ἀνεκτόν

Id., *De mysteriis*, cap. 1 sez. 21 ed. cit.: τῶν ὅλων δεῦρο καταπεμφθέντα, οἷς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄφθεγκτα διὰ συμβόλων ἀπορρήτων ἐκφωνεῖται, τὰ δὲ ἀνειδέα κρατεῖται ἐν εἴδεσι [. . .]

Euseb. Caesar., *Praeparatio evangelica*, lib. V cap. 14 sez. 1 ed. Mras: ἠδὲ Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν ἠδ' ἐξείης Ἀφροδίτην κλήσεσιν ἀφθέγκτοις, ἃς εὗρε μάγων ὄχ' ἄριστος, τῆς ἑπταφθόγγου βασιλεύς, ὃν πάντες ἴσασιν·

Id., *Praeparatio evangelica* lib. XI cap. 6 sez. 20 ed. cit.: φησιν ὀρθῶς ὄνομα κεῖσθαι διὰ τὸ ἄνω ὁρᾶν ποιεῖν. πάλιν Ἑβραῖοι τὸ μὲν ἀνωτάτω τοῦ θεοῦ κύριον ὄνομα ἄρρητον εἶναι καὶ ἄφθεγκτον οὐδὲ φαντασίᾳ διανοίας ληπτὸν εἶναί φασιν·

Athan. Alex.., *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, cap. 27 sez. 2 ed. Opitz: «δῷ εἶναι υἱοῦ πρότερον οὐκ ὄντος; πότε δὲ ἡ τῆς ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀκατονομάστου καὶ «ἀφθέγκτου ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκών, ὁ χαρακτήρ, <ὁ> λόγος ὁ 'γινώσκων τὸν «πατέρα' οὐκ ἦν; κατανοείτω γὰρ ὁ τολμῶν καὶ λέγων· 'ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός' [. . .]

Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Commentarius de templo Athenarum*, p. 109 ed. Delatte: ποιεῖν, ποιεῖτε. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐφετμεύω τρισένα ὑψιμέδοντα, οὗ λόγος ἄφθεγκτος ἐν ἀδέτω κόρῃ ἔγκυμος ἔσται· ὥσπερ πυροφόρον τόξον ἄπαντα κόσμον ζωγρήσας πατρὶ προσάξει δῶρον·

Ps.-Athan. Alex., *Commentarius de templo Athenarum (cod. Bodleianus Roe 5)*, Folio 151v ed. von Premerstein: τούτοις ἔφη· Ὅσα μὲν πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κόσμον ὄρωρε ποιεῖν, ποιεῖτε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφετμεύω τρεῖς ἕνα μοῦνον ὑψιμέδοντα θεόν, οὗ λόγος ἄφ<θεγκτος>, ἐν ἀδαεῖ κόρῃ ἔγκυμος γενόμενος, ἐν ἅπαντι κόσμῳ [. . .]

Basil. Caes., *De spiritu sancto*, cap. 27 section 66 ed. Pruche: ἐξαρχῆς διαθεσμοθετήσαντες ἀπόστολοι καὶ πατέρες, ἐν τῷ κεκρυμμένῳ καὶ ἀφθέγκτῳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐφύλασσον. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως μυστήριον, τὸ εἰς τὴν δημώδη

Ps.-Didym. Alex., *De trinitate (lib. 2.8–27)*, PG 39, 624: νομομαθὴς καὶ διώκτης, καὶ ὕστερον αὐτῆς τῆς ἀφθέγκτου οἰκονομίας ἀναδειχθεὶς μυσταγωγός, συνάδοντα περὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ διαγορεύει [. . .]

Id., *De trinitate (lib. 3)* , PG 39, 820: οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἄφθεγκτον οἰκονομίαν, ὡς παρῳχηκότα, πρινὴ γένηται διηγόρευσεν·

Id., 837: ἐν τῇ καταχρήσει διὰ τὴν ἄφθεγκτον οἰκονομίαν ἐξενηνεγμένων· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ πολλῆς ταπεινώσεως καὶ σκότους εἰς δόξαν καὶ φῶς

Synes. Phil., *Hymni,* n. 2 ed. cit.: πάτερ αἰώνων, πάτερ ἀφθέγκτων νοερῶν κόσμων [. . .]

Id., n. 1 ed. cit.: Ἄφθεγκτε γόνε πατρὸς ἀφθέγκτου, ὠδὶς διὰ σέ [. . .]

Id., n. 2 ed. cit.: Γόνε κύδιστε πατρὸς ἀφθέγκτου, σέ, μάκαρ, μεγάλῳ

Id., n. 1 ed. cit.: Τίς ἐπ' ἀφθέγκτοις ἐβράβευσε τομάν;

Id., n. 1 ed. cit.: βλάστησε, μέσα φύσις ἄφθεγκτος, τὸ προούσιον ὄν.

Id., n. 1 ed. cit.: οὐ καταταχθέν). Ἄφθεγκτε γόνε πατρὸς ἀφθέγκτου,

Io. Stobae., *Anthologium,* lib. IV cap. 54 ed. Hense-Wachsmuth: Αἰαῖ τέκος ἁμέτερον, μεῖζον ἢ πενθεῖν ἐφάνη κακόν, ἀφθέγκτοισιν ἶσον.

Procl. Phil., *In Platonis Parmenidem,* p. 803 ed. Cousin: ἀκρότητος ὑποδέχεται τῶν νοητῶν καὶ νοερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ κρυφίως καὶ ἀφθέγκτως ὑφεστηκότων εἰδῶν·

Id., *In Platonis Timaeum commentaria,* vol. 3 page 16 ed. Diehl: οἱ δὲ αὖ νοεροὶ πρὸς τοὺς νοητούς, ἀφ' ὧν ἐξεφάνησαν ἀρρήτως καὶ ἀφθέγκτως τὰ πάντα καὶ κρυφίως περιεχόντων.

Id., *Theologia Platonica (lib. 1–6),* vol. 1 page 14 ed. Saffrey-Westerink: δι' ἐπιβολῆς γινώσκεσθαι δυναμένων εἰδῶν, τὴν δὲ ταύτης ὑπερέχουσαν ἀρρήτων καὶ ἀφθέγκτων ὑπάρξεων μεταθεῖν τήν τε ἐν ἀλλήλαις [αὐτῶν] διάκρισιν [. . .]. Non continuo a riportare le ulteriori occorrenze: nell'opera di Proclo se ne contano 9.

Questo aggettivo, piuttosto raro (50 occorrenze in quattordici secoli di letteratura) mostra sin da età remota di possedere due significati: "muto" e "indicibile, inannunciabile". È notevole una certa concentrazione di occorrenze del termine nell'accezione di "indicibile" nella prosa teologica tardoantica, sia pagana che cristiana; ancora più notevole è che questi autori siano tutti di tendenza platonica o fortemente platonizzante: gli esegeti pagani di Platone (Giamblico, Porfirio, Proclo), gli alessandrini (Clemente, Origene, Atanasio, Didimo, Sinesio). Eusebio, un altro degli autori in cui compare il termine nell'accezione cercata, non può essere definito come specificamente appartenente alla scuola di Alessandria, ma è certamente stato influenzato in misura notevole dal linguaggio alessandrino attraverso la lettura dell'opera di Origene.[49]

49. A proposito dell'influsso origeniano sulla scrittura di Eusebio, Jeremy Schott scrive: Pamphilus, Eusebius, Evagrius, and Rufinus are all "Origenist" in so far as

De mystica theologia, *Capitolo IV.*

1040D "Λέγομεν οὖν, ὡς ἡ πάντων αἰτία καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα οὖσα οὔτε ἀνούσιός ἐστιν οὔτε ἄζωος, οὔτε ἄλογος οὔτε ἄνους."

a) ἀνούσιος / ἄζωος / ἄλογος
b) ἄζωος / ἄλογος / ἄνους
c) ἄζωος / ἄνους / ἀνούσιος
d) ἄνους / ἄλογος / ἀνούσιος
e) ἀνούσιος
f) ἄζωος[50]

Attributi divini negativi tipici del linguaggio dionisiano.

Occorrenze:

a) nessuna.
b) nessuna.

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for each Origen of Alexandria and his works represent a key source, influence, inspiration, tradition, or other crucial point of contact" (Schott 2013, 323–327).

50. Lo Pseudo-Dionigi usa questo aggettivo altre 6 volte nel corpus: DN IV 2, 696 D: Καὶ φυτὰ δὲ πάντα τὴν θρεπτικὴν καὶ κινητικὴν ἔχει ζωὴν ἐκ τἀγαθοῦ, καὶ ὅση ἄψυχος καὶ ἄζωος οὐσία διὰ τἀγαθὸν ἔστι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τῆς οὐσιώδους ἕξεως ἔλαχεν; EH ΘΕΩΡΙΑ 5, 433Α: Ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ ἀτέλεστα καὶ ἀμόρφωτα προεκπέσοι τὰ κατὰ σάρκα βρέφη τῆς οἰκείας μαιεύσεως, ὡς ἀμβλωθρίδια καὶ ἐκτρώματα τὴν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄζωον καὶ ἀφώτιστον ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπόπτωσιν ἕξει [. . .]; DN IV 3, 697Α: Καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ μόνῳ καὶ τὸ ἀνούσιον οὐσίας ὑπερβολὴ καὶ τὸ ἄζωον ὑπερέχουσα ζωὴ καὶ τὸ ἄνουν ὑπεραίρουσα σοφία καὶ ὅσα ἐν τἀγαθῷ τῆς τῶν ἀνειδέων ἐστὶν ὑπεροχικῆς εἰδοποιίας.; DN IV 5, 700Β: [. . .] τὰ δὲ αἰσθήσεως ἄμοιρα τῇ ἐμφύτῳ κινήσει τῆς ζωτικῆς ἐφέσεως, τὰ δὲ ἄζωα καὶ μόνον ὄντα τῇ πρὸς μόνην τὴν οὐσιώδη μέθεξιν ἐπιτηδειότητι.; DN V 4, 817Β: Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνούσια καὶ ἄζωά τις ὑπετίθετο τὰ νοερά, καλῶς ἂν εἶχεν ὁ λόγος.; DN IV 32, 732D: Στέρησις ἄρα ἐστὶ τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἔλλειψις καὶ ἀσθένεια καὶ ἀσυμμετρία καὶ ἁμαρτία καὶ ἄσκοπον καὶ ἀκαλλὲς καὶ ἄζωον καὶ ἄνουν καὶ ἄλογον καὶ ἀτελὲς καὶ ἀνίδρυτον καὶ ἀναίτιον καὶ ἀόριστον καὶ ἄγονον καὶ ἀργὸν καὶ ἀδρανὲς καὶ ἄτακτον καὶ ἀνόμοιον καὶ ἄπειρον καὶ σκοτεινὸν καὶ ἀνούσιον καὶ αὐτὸ μηδαμῶς μηδαμῇ μηδὲν ὄν.; CH IV 1, 177D: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄζωα πάντα τῷ εἶναι αὐτῆς μετέχει (τὸ γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἶναι θεότης), τὰ δὲ ζῶντα τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ζωὴν ζωοποιοῦ δυνάμεως [. . .].

c) Proclo, *In Platonis Parmenidem*, pag. 1005 ed. cit.: Δευτέρα μὲν οὖν ἑξᾶς αὕτη· τρίτη δὲ τοιάδε· εἰ μὴ ἔστι ψυχή, ἕπεται αὐτῇ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὸ ἄζωον, τὸ ἀνούσιον, τὸ ἄνουν· οὔτε γὰρ οὐσίαν οὔτε ζωὴν ἕξει μὴ οὖσα· L'occorrenza in questa sede è interessante e controversa. I tre aggettivi sono messi nello stesso ordine di Proclo ma, al contrario di lui in questo passo, lo pseudo-Dionigi non li usa per l'anima — che è un'ipostasi diversa dall'Uno -, ma per il divino stesso.

d) nessuna.

e) Questo aggettivo diventa comune a partire dal II secolo. Si ritrova, eccetto per un'occorrenza[51], esclusivamente nella letteratura tecnica del campo della filosofia (v'è un'occorrenza in Zosimo di Panopoli, ma la maggior concentrazione di occorrenze si ha in particolare nei commenti ad Aristotele di Alessandro di Afrodisia e di Siriano della scuola di Atene, e nei neoplatonici Porfirio e Proclo), e soprattutto della teologia cristiana (Ireneo, Clemente alessandrino, Ippolito, Gregorio il taumaturgo, Eusebio, Epifanio, Gregorio di Nazianzo e Basilio di Cesarea).

f) Theophras. Phil., *De causis plantarum (lib. 2–6)*, lib. IV cap. 15 sez. 3 ed. Dengler: [. . .] διαφθειρόμενα (μόνα) τῶν σιτωδῶν οὐ ζοῦνται καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν λαχάνων· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἄζωα καὶ ὅσα δὴ τῇ ξηρότητι ἢ τῇ δριμύτητι.

Porphy., *Sententiae ad intelligibilia ducentes*, sententia 20 ed. cit.: Τῆς ὕλης τὰ ἴδια κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους τάδε· ἀσώματος —ἑτέρα γὰρ σωμάτων—, ἄζωος—οὔτε γὰρ νοῦς οὔτε ψυχὴ οὐ ζῶν καθ' ἑαυτό—, ἀνείδεος, ἄλογος, ἄπειρος [. . .]

Flavius Claudius Julianus Imperator Phil., Εἰς τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν, sez. 11 ed. Rochefort: τῷ βασιλεῖ Διί, πηγὴ δὲ τῶν νοερῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἄζωον καὶ ἄγονον καὶ σκύβαλον καὶ τῶν ὄντων [. . .]

Eusebius Caesar., Commentaria in Psalmos (CPG 34679), PG 23, 1200: μὲν οὖν φάσκειν εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλόγως καὶ αὐτομάτως τὴν ἄζωον καὶ ἄψυχον καὶ ἀνόητον ὕλην τὰ τοσαῦτα ζῶα [. . .]

Epiphanius, *Panarion (= Adversus haereses)*, vol. 3 page 264 ed. Holl: Καὶ μεθ' ἕτερα ὀλίγα «οὐ γὰρ ὁ λόγος θεός, ὁ ἄλλοις παρέχων ζωὴν καὶ κάλλος καὶ μορφήν, αὐτὸς ἄζωος καὶ ἀκαλλὴς καὶ ἄμορφός ἐστιν [. . .]

Id., Panarion (= Adversus haereses), vol. 3 page 261 ed. cit.: <λέγεις> εἶναι ταύτην. τούτων δὲ ἀκίνητον εἰκόνα εἶναι θέλεις αὐτήν, οἱονεὶ ἄψυχον καὶ ἄζωον, ἔξω ἐκτεθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ποιῶν, καὶ ὡσαύτως ἄψυχον <ὡς> καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῃ τέχνῃ μόνῃ συνεστῶσαν·

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51. Si tratta del trattato di Galeno sulle qualità incorporee (*Quod qualitatae incorporeae sint*).

Adamantius Judaeus Med., *De ventis*, p. 30 ed. Rose: χρὰ ἂν ὑπῆρχε καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κρᾶσιν θανάτου κομίζουσα νεκρά τε ἂν ἦν καὶ ἄζωος καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν φυτουργίαν ἢ ζωογονίαν ἀνεπιτήδειος.

Proclus Phil., *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 706 ed. cit. : τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἑνοποιοὺς αἰτίας αὐτὰς ἀπεσπάσθαι ἀλλήλων· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰς ζωοποιοὺς ἀζώους, οὐδὲ τὰς νοοποιοὺς ἀνοήτους εἶναι [. . .]

Id., *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 773 ed. cit.: Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνενέργητός ἐστι καὶ ἄζωος, οὔτε γεννητική τινος ἔσται, οὔτε εἶδος νοερόν·

Id., *In Platonis Parmenidem*, p. 762 ed. cit.: ὅσην τὸ ἀΐδιον πρὸς τὸ φθαρτὸν, καὶ τὸ ἄϋλον πρὸς τὸ ἔνυλον, καὶ τὸ αὐτόζων πρὸς τὸ ἄζωον ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας συστάσεως [. . .]. Non continuo a riportare le occorrenze: nell'opera di Proclo se ne contano 9.

Io. Philop., *In Aristotelis libros de anima commentaria*, vol. 15 p. 35 ed. Hayduck: τὸ γὰρ ἄψυχον σῶμα ψυχῆς αἴτιον, τὸ ἄζωον ζωῆς, τὸ ἀκίνητον τοῦ κινητικοῦ, τὸ ἄλογον τοῦ μὴ ἀλόγου [. . .]

Id., *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria*, vol. 16 p. 191 ed. Vitelli: οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ κρείττονος εἴη ἂν αἴτιον καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἄψυχον καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸ ἄζωον [. . .]

Id., *De aeternitate mundi*, p. 349 ed. Rabe: πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν τὴν ἀναίσθητον ὕλην καὶ ἄζωον καὶ ὅλως ἀνείδεον αἰσθήσεως καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ ὅλως εἴδους εἶναι αἰτίαν;

Id., *De aeternitate mundi*, p. 369 ed. cit.: ὑποκείμενον καὶ ζωούμενον σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τῆς φύσεως τοῦ σώματος λόγον ἄψυχον καὶ ἄζωον, καὶ τοῦτο δῆλον.

Olympiod. Phil., *In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria*, cap. 31 sez. 9 ed. Westerink: Εἴτε ψυχῆς εἴτε σώματος βούλει [496 e 7—8] ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲ μόνως σώματός ἐστιν (ἄζωον γὰρ τοῦτο) οὐδὲ ψυχῆς (ἀσώματος γάρ) [. . .].

De mystica theologia, *Capitolo V.*

1048B "[. . .] ἡ ὑπεροχὴ τοῦ πάντων ἁπλῶς ἀπολελυμένου [. . .]"

a) ὑπεροχή / πᾶς / ἀπολύω
b) πᾶς / ἀπολύω

"L'eccellenza di ciò che è sciolto da tutte le cose" è una formula in cui emerge la concezione descritta finora più volte del divino come totalmente trascendente, *ab solutus*, e presenta un participio perfetto, voce verbale tipica della prosa tardoantica molto usata dallo pseudo-Dionigi.

Occorrenze:

a) nessuna

b) Di questa *iunctura* πάντων / ἀπολελυμένου, come di tutte le altre d'altronde, si sono cercate le occorrenze in cui le due parole non fossero semplicemente giustapposte, ma congiunte nel significato con cui appaiono nel testo dionisiano. In particolare, qui si sono ricercate le occorrenze in cui la formula descrivesse una condizione metafisica. Non si sono individuate occorrenze della *iunctura*.

<div align="center">

**3.**

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Conclusioni

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La gran quantità di fonti del linguaggio pseudo-dionisiano individuata espone un lavoro come questo ai rischi di un'eccessiva frammentazione: l'acribìa nel voler rendere giustizia alla pluralità e alla stratificazione storica del vocabolario e delle espressioni presenti nel testo pseudo-dionisiano può ridursi in un esercizio di lessicografia che finisce per non illuminare, nemmeno approssimativamente, le origini della speculazione dell'autore del corpus, un po' come una mappa che, volendo riprodurre ogni minima caratteristica del territorio, finisce per essere talmente dettagliata da non potersi utilizzare.

Per ovviare a questo problema si è pensato di sintetizzare l'analisi in uno schema conclusivo che cerchi quanto più possibile di ricondurre a linee di tendenza e orientamenti comuni le molteplici e multiformi fonti della lingua pseudo-dionisiana. Per questa ragione nel tirare le somme dell'analisi si è pensato di ricondurre a unità, ad esempio, il vocabolario di tendenza platonica pur proveniente da tradizioni così diverse come quella pagana e quella cristiana: questa semplificazione eccessiva, ripeto, è pensata per ovviare ai rischi di un'eccessiva frammentazione del materiale lessicografico; per vedere poi in dettaglio le origini degli influssi qui descritti semplicemente come "platonici", il lettore potrà tornare nel corpo del testo dove sono fornite tutte le specifiche.

Sono stati isolati, all'interno del *De mystica theologia*, 21 sintagmi: di questi, 12 risultano originali dello pseudo-Dionigi; 4 contengono espressioni fortemente platonizzanti, presenti sia in testi di neoplatonici pagani — di varie scuole, sebbene ci sia una preponderanza di Proclo della scuola di Atene — o di teologi cristiani particolarmente sensibili alla filosofia platonica come i cappadoci o gli alessandrini; 3 *iuncturae* mostrano pre-

stiti, rielaborati in maniera originale, dal vocabolario teologico delle scuole più varie (aristotelica, platonica, alessandrina, antiochena);1 contiene una *variatio* di un'immagine biblica; 1 *iunctura* contiene un aggettivo che compare, prima dello pseudo-Dionigi, solo nella letteratura di area palestinese. Alcune occorrenze tuttavia sono molto complesse da valutare (come lo pseudo-Atanasio e lo pseudo-Epifanio, di datazione incerta), e si dovrà attendere la costituzione di un'edizione critica per dirimere definitivamente la questione.

Fonti del linguaggio pseudo-dionisiano
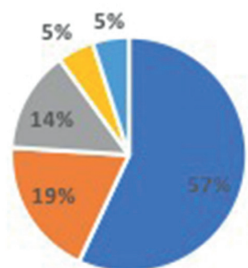
57% dei linguaggio è originale.
19 % è di origine platonica — sia pagana che cristiana.
14% deriva dal vocabolario tecnico di scuole filosofiche varie
5 % è di origine biblica
5 % è presente solo in letteratura di area palestinese

Come emerge dalle proporzioni del grafico, il linguaggio del *De mystica theologia* è permeato da fonti multiformi e variegate.

Si nota un particolare influsso del lessico platonico, dato che conferma acquisizioni storico-linguistiche già assodate sul lessico del corpus: vari influssi di autori alessandrini (di tendenza origenista e non) con una particolare preponderanza del vocabolario tecnico di Cirillo di Alessandria, una presenza considerevole di formule della teologia cappadoce (con una particolare preponderanza del lessico di Gregorio di Nissa), e numerosissimi prestiti dal vocabolario tecnico di varie scuole di teologia pagana (in particolare della scuola neoplatonica di Atene — i.e. Proclo -, ma anche dei commentatori antico-bizantini di Aristotele, come Siriano o Giovanni Filopono).

A questi influssi più evidenti, già numerosi, si aggiunge una presenza esigua ma significativa di espressioni presenti in altre fonti: bibliche (principalmente veterotestamentarie e paoline), un aggettivo che compare solo in un'opera precedente di origine siro-palestinese, e alcune espressioni pre-

senti in autori di area antiochena come Teodoreto di Cirro o Giovanni Crisostomo. Da questa analisi emerge dunque che, nella consapevolezza di quanto vago possa essere un attributo come "platonico" — che si direbbe la tendenza più evidente del lessico pseudo-dionisiano -, su base prettamente testuale non si evidenziano dipendenze e derivazioni sufficientemente univoche da poter individuare il *milieu* teologico in cui il *De mystica theologia* ha avuto origine.

Come interpretare dunque questo linguaggio multiforme? Credo si possano proporre due ipotesi di spiegazione che diano ragione del complesso tessuto testuale del corpus e che allo stesso tempo possano costituire vie verso una possibile chiarificazione della sua genesi.

La prima ipotesi è che il *Corpus Areopagiticum* sia il prodotto di una figura eclettica, di solidissima formazione filosofica, che abbia intrecciato alla teologia cappadoce e alessandrina — in un modo che non si era ancora mai visto nella speculazione cristiana — le categorie di pensiero di Proclo e Plotino, i mitologemi della Bibbia a quelli di Platone, costituendo un'opera monumentale la cui cifra caratterizzante e quella di un fenomeno tipico della letteratura dell'impero romano d'Oriente: l'intertestualità, la memoria letteraria, la *Rückwanderung,* ovvero l'eco ininterrotta dei passi scritturistici e patristici che, nel corpo del testo, si fonde con quello dei tragici greci e dei loro miti, in un continuo canone di citazioni.

L'altra possibilità è che il corpus non sia il prodotto di un'unica personalità ma di un gruppo di pensatori, provenienti da diversi *background* culturali, che messi insieme abbiano voluto indagare, fornendo ognuno il contributo che la propria formazione gli consentiva, la materia teologica. Non è possibile, in questa sede, proporre qualcosa di più solido di un'ipotesi riguardo a questo tema, che necessita di un lavoro pari e superiore a quello qui svolto per poter essere risolto; Un circolo di pensatori però, in cui differenti personalità si sono occupate di differenti porzioni del corpus, infondendovi le influenze del proprio background spirituale, dando ragione della perturbazione del flusso testuale sembrerebbe essere una possibile ipotesi di spiegazione del ambiente di origine del *Corpus Areopagiticum.*

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The Social, Textual Lives
of Patents

The Phillips Screw and Driver

Grant Leyton Simpson

Introduction

THERE IS A GOOD CHANCE, GIVEN THAT *TEXTUAL CULTURES* transitioned away from print in 2013 (O'SULLIVAN 2013), that you are reading this on a device that is held together by one or more screws. It is less likely that those fasteners were active objects of your cognitive faculties, at least until prompted by this article's title. Even when directly engaging with a screw and driver, we tend to do so in a manner in which they are, to use Heideggerian terminology, ready-to-hand (*zuhanden*) rather than present-at-hand (*vorhanden*). They are just there, waiting with potential utility. Most of us do not dwell on the fact that they have not always been there nor that they directly affect the affordances of particular devices.

Devices with commonly available fasteners afford opening, i.e. the potential for opening exists, even if it is never exploited.[1] Screws, though small and seemingly inconsequential, are gatekeepers to the concrete internals of our technology. They inhabit our furniture, toys, electronics, and sometimes our bodies (see figure 1). As such, they contribute to how we relate to objects in the modern world, whether those objects are high tech or low tech, human or inanimate. They are commonplace inventions. Yet commonplace inventions have historical and social footprints that, due to the market protections afforded by patent grants, intersect in complex ways with networks of patents, inventors, users, and numer-

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1. If you chose to read this article on paper by, say, printing it out, you chose the particular experiences that paper affords; just as glass affords looking through and breaking (NORMAN 2013), paper affords annotation, curling, shuffling, and dog-earring, among other things.

Figure 1. An ankle held together by several screws. Detail of a photograph by Flickr user ceonyc. Used according to a Creative Commons CC-BY-SA license.

ous associated others. Patent texts stipulate how objects like these, i.e. objects in the world should be instantiated—that is, they establish an ideal type to which the tokens that proliferate should conform. They are also instruments of power, as a patent for a mass-producible item is both a pattern for proliferation and a monopoly on production. When such power is mobilized, the results are never merely technical but are always also social and frequently textual.[2]

After all, small objects such as these often have an outsized effect on our lives. When Apple Inc., recently the world's largest company by market capitalization, changed to an obscure pentalobe screw in its devices, the devices ceased affording opening (WIENS 2011). The intent was clear: *consumers are not meant to open these devices*. Puns using the verb "to screw" abounded. The approach was predicated upon scarcity, as Apple "chose this fastener specifically because it was new, guaranteeing repair tools would be both rare and expensive" (WIENS 2011). The pentalobe screw stands in the way of our relating to a particular piece of technology in a particular way; one must subvert it in order to exploit the affordance of opening. Until

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2. The model for power used herein, in which power is exercised by means of a series of associations between human and non-human agents, comes from Latour (1986).

then, the pentalobe screw not only fastens, it seals. The Phillips screw, on the other hand, is ubiquitous. Drivers are easily obtained, even for very small heads. The screws can be installed, removed, or replaced. But this fact is historically contingent, much like the scarcity of pentalobe drivers in 2011. Though Apple did not patent the pentalobe screw and driver, Henry Phillips filed for numerous patents for his particular cruciform fastener and its corresponding driver. Until the patents expired, anyone legally manufacturing Phillips screws or drivers would have had to license the technology.

The present work attempts two things. First, it explores the nature of patent textuality. In doing so, it construes patents as collaboratively created social actors whose legal and cultural authority are effected by performative speech acts. As a social actor, a patent—and the invention that corresponds to it—is the subject of interpretation by lawyers, inventors, implementers, and users. The second goal of this article engages such interpretation in the context of the Phillips screw and driver patents. In exploring said patents and the tools' reception in the popular culture by users and handypersons, I take up two challenges put forth by D.F. McKenzie: to account for the textuality of new forms and to account for the social aspects of texts.

Patent Basics

Patents in the United States fall broadly into three categories: utility, design, and plant. A design patent covers "the design embodied in or applied to an article of manufacture (or portion thereof)", while a utility patent covers the function of the article (United States Patent and Trademark Office 2014, §1502). A plant patent covers the rights to exploit the creation of an asexually reproducing plant. The present work focuses solely on utility patents.

"Patent" can signify different things, depending upon context. It may refer to the grant to exploit an invention, the certificate on which that grant is written, or the text of that document. It may also refer to the invention itself. For example, bibliometric study of patents uses patents "as a proxy for inventions" (Benson and Magee 2015, 1971). The grant is treated as intellectual property (IP) similar to trademarks and copyrights.[3] In addition to the obvious possibility of commercializing an invention, there are also markets for trading in patent grants (i.e., the IP) and, to a lesser extent,

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3. See Lemley (2012, 80 n. 22) for a thorough bibliography of patents as property.

the certificates.[4] Thus one may own the IP, the certificate granting it, or an instance of the invention. In the U.S., with few exceptions, one may not own the copyright to the contents of the patent, as "the text and drawings of a patent are typically not subject to copyright" (United States Patent and Trademark Office n.d.).[5] This is due to the need for the content of the patent to be complicit in the patent bargain (discussed below), i.e. the inventor receives a time-limited, exclusive right to reap the economic benefits and prestige conveyed by the patent in exchange for committing a permanent textual and visual record of the invention.

If an invention fulfills certain conditions, the invention is considered patentable.[6] That is, patentability conditions are individually necessary and collectively sufficient for determining whether a patent should be granted. Current patentability conditions are defined in 35 U.S.C. §§100–112. An invention must be "a new and useful process, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter, or any new and useful improvement thereof" (§101), novel (§102), nonobvious (§103), and enableable (§112). The requirement of enablement, as Seymore notes,

> compels a patent applicant to enable a person having ordinary skill in the art (PHOSITA) to make and use the full scope of the claimed invention without undue experimentation. Enablement, therefore, places an outer limit on the scope of the claims. (Seymore 2008, 130)

In addition to its limiting role, enablement makes sure that the patent specification remains useful to the public once the patent falls into the public domain. However, as Ganguli and Blackman note, "It should be appreciated that a patent document is not necessarily (most often not) equivalent to 'technology know-how'" (1995, 249).[7]

4. Collecting patent certificates is a pursuit similar to scripophily, the collection of stock and bond certificates *as certificates*. In both cases, the owner owns the physical document and usually not the property to which the document refers.

5. "Typically" refers to the fact that patents may include portions of text or drawings that are already copyrighted. In this case, the patent may include a copyright notice but this does not preclude reproduction of the patent grant (United States Patent and Trademark Office 2014, §1.71).

6. For a discussion of how patents in the Anglo-American tradition became rights, see Bracha (2004).

7. The requirement that an invention not be "obvious at the time the invention was made" to a PHOSITA is a relatively new condition, having been added when the patent laws were extensively revised in 1952 (35 USC §103 1952, p.

The Patent Bargain

The modern utility patent grant is a monopoly on the exploitation of an invention. This monopoly is subject to temporal and geopolitical boundaries. Even within just the Anglo-American patent tradition, the rights, obligations, and privileges granted by the monopoly, the process for acquiring one, and the conditions for granting it have varied over time. Nevertheless, some features have remained fairly consistent, namely that an inventor or his or her agent supplies a petition that a sovereign government—often consisting of numerous state actors and sometimes, as is the case in the United Kingdom, an actual sovereign or his or her representatives—acts upon in producing an official state document that grants the monopoly. This monopoly is a right from the patent holder's point of view but "a form of regulation" to those who would otherwise "practic[e] the invention" (Burstein 2015, 510).

In the United States, the authority to legislate on matters pertaining to patents, trademarks, and copyright derives from the Constitution, wherein Congress is given the power to "promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries" (1 Const. §8). The promotion of "Progress" is twofold: The inventor receives the limited monopoly in exchange for exposing information about the invention in a manner that enables study of it, improvement upon it, and, once the patent expires, exploitation of it without licensing it from the inventor. This is commonly known as the patent bargain. Pottage (2006) characterizes the bargain in terms of private knowledge becoming public:

> "knowledge" exists in two registers: the register of "public" science, which is conserved by restricting patents to applications of science—to inventions rather than discoveries—and the register of specific "private" inflections of science. Patents make that difference in a somewhat complicated way. As knowledge, even these private inflections become public because the knowledge that goes into the making of a patented

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5232). The concept of obviousness, however, was already playing a factor in the patent process. In the reviser's comment to 35 USC §103, he or she remarks that "the refusal of patents by the Patent Office, and the holding of patents invalid by the courts, on the ground of lack of invention or lack of patentable novelty has been followed since at least 1850". Nevertheless, it would have not been a legally mandated requirement when the Phillips patents were under consideration.

artefact is disclosed in the patent text. So although according to the classic formulation of the "bargain" no one could use that recipe to man-ufacture the artefact, they could use it in basic scientific research. The application is protected, but (at least in theory) the knowledge remains available for basic research or even for the development of new propri-etary inventions (88).

Another way of putting this is that, "Disclosure . . . is not conceptualized as a cost of doing business but as the information necessary to ensure protec-tion" (Biagioli 2006, 1131). The requirement that a PHOSITA be able to understand and act upon the information presented in the patent enables the transfer of information between social actors. The USPTO's *Manual of Patent Examination Procedure (MPEP)* explains the role of the disclosure in the patent bargain succinctly: "The requirement for an adequate disclosure ensures that the public receives something in return for the exclusionary rights that are granted to the inventor by a patent" (§608).

The availability of patent information is sometimes construed as a moral obligation to society. Austin (1936, 943), for example, holds that, "The pat-ent law condemns secret uses such as the Chamberlen family resorted to in keeping the knowledge of forceps from the public for many generations, thereby depriving humanity of the general use of an instrument valuable in saving the lives of women and children at childbirth".[8] Moral imperative or not, the sharing of information often benefits the public more than it does the inventor or his or her firm (Teece 1986) and thus patents provide "public welfare effects" (Kitch 1977, 275).

Through the legal mechanism of the bargain, invention information is automatically available as a medium by means of which technoscientific networks can be connected or connections discovered; participants in this network who have no direct connection to one another may be indirectly connected through one participant's use of another's patent specification in

8. William Chamberlen had two sons named Peter, the elder of which is thought to be the inventor of the forceps (Russell 2014). As Moore (2007, 698) argues, "Paradoxically, the successive Chamberlens thereby saved countless lives of mothers and babies when called by female midwives to problematic births, yet condemned many more to excruciating deaths by refusing to share their inven-tion". In an ironic turn, Peter Chamberlen, a physician and son of the younger Peter (hence William's grandson), petitioned Parliament to build public baths as a defense against the plague, arguing "that the longer they are deferr'd, the more lives must perish; the sooner they are made, the more lives may be saved" (Chamberlen 1649).

the course of basic or applied research. As Rockett (2010, 354) notes, "both the enabling disclosure in the patent and the act of patenting per se carry information".

Ganguli and Blackman argue that "patents form the single most comprehensive technical resource in the world" (Ganguli and Blackman 1995, 247). Researchers from the academic, legal, and business spheres engage with this resource in different ways and for different purposes. Executives, inventors, and lawyers use patent claims as indications of prior art and as a means to mitigating legal risk. Searches of patent databases can also help in "generat[ing] ideas for RD", "find[ing] products", and finding "solutions to problems" (Ganguli and Blackman 1995, 247). Patents also provide textual evidence for legal scholarship. Examples of this include investigations into the geographical extent of patents (Winston 2015), patent litigation reform (Gugliuzza 2015), citing prior art (Richardson 2015), patent quality (Cass 2015), experimenting with patent policy (Ouellette 2015), and the relationship between patents and antitrust (Hovenkamp 2015).[9]

Patent Grant Textuality and the Patent as Performance

Ganguli and Blackman note that "documentation in a patent is necessarily well structured", a structure that consists of a title page, text, and claims (Ganguli and Blackman 1995, 247). This facilitates what Geof Bowker has called the "internalist and Whig accounts of the development of the process or apparatus that they describe" (1992, 53). The contents of the U.S. patent are stipulated by 35 U.S.C. §154(a)(1) which requires that:

9. Due to their status as records of technoscientific activity and information, scholars of science and technology have frequently studied patents. Historians of science and technology have investigated the role of patents in various historical, geopolitical, and disciplinary contexts; examples include Baldini et al. (2014), Gabriel (2014), MacLeod (2012), de Chadarevian (2011), Miller (2011), and Yi (2011). Recent scientometric work on patents includes discerning patent value (Yang et al. 2015), identifying gender disparity (Sugimoto et al. 2015), mapping geographical sources of invention (Leydesdorff et al. 2015), predicting "potential evolutionary pathways" (Zhou et al. 2014, 705) or "potential opportunties" (Ma and Porter 2015) for a given technology, analyzing the relationship between patent classification diversity and technology life-cycles (Leydesdorff 2015), producing methods to assist in setting priorities for venture capital firms (Motta et al. 2015), and analyzing patent families (Nakamura et al. 2015).

> Every patent shall contain a short title of the invention and a grant to
> the patentee, his heirs or assigns, of the right to exclude others from
> making, using, offering for sale, or selling the invention throughout the
> United States or importing the invention into the United States, and,
> if the invention is a process, of the right to exclude others from using,
> offering for sale or selling throughout the United States, or importing
> into the United States, products made by that process, referring to the
> specification for the particulars thereof.

Furthermore, 35 U.S.C. §154(a)(4) stipulates that, "A copy of the specifi-
cation and drawing shall be annexed to the patent and be a part of such
patent".

The specification is "a written description of the invention and of the
manner and process of making and using the same". *MPEP* (§608.01) states
that "The specification must include a written description of the invention
or discovery and of the manner and process of making and using the same"
and it "must set forth the precise invention for which a patent is solicited,
in such manner as to distinguish it from other inventions and from what is
old". Furthermore:

> It must describe completely a specific embodiment of the process,
> machine, manufacture, composition of matter or improvement invented,
> and must explain the mode of operation or principle whenever appli-
> cable. The best mode contemplated by the inventor of carrying out his
> invention must be set forth . . . In the case of an improvement, the
> specification must particularly point out the part or parts of the process,
> machine, manufacture, or composition of matter to which the improve-
> ment relates, and the description should be confined to the specific
> improvement and to such parts as necessarily cooperate with it or as may
> be necessary to a complete understanding or description of it.

What we now call a patent is one form of the letter patent. Letters pat-
ent are records of the exercise of sovereign authority. Blackstone explains
the etymology thus:

> The *king's grants* are also matter of public record. . . . These grants,
> whether of lands, honours, liberties, franchises, or aught besides, are
> contained in charters, or letters-*patent*, that is, open letters, *literæ pat-*
> *entes*: so called because they are not sealed up, but exposed to open view,
> with the great seal pendant at the bottom; and are usually directed or

addressed by the king to all his subjects at large. And therein they differ from certain other letters of the king, sealed also with his great seal, but directed to particular persons, and for particular purposes: which therefore, not being proper for public inspection, are closed up and sealed on the outside, and are thereupon called writs *close*, *literæ clausæ*, and are recorded in the *close-rolls*, in the same manner as the others are in the *patent-rolls*. (Blackstone 1753, 1:346)

As Bracha notes, "A patent was a creature of royal prerogative. It was based on case-specific policy decisions of the monarch to confer particular privileges on a certain individual in order to promote some economic, social, or political goal" (2004, 185). The terms of each patent for an invention, including the privileges conferred, the obligations on the patent holder, and the term for which the patent applied varied accordingly (Bracha 2004).[10]

Letters patent are still issued for more than just inventions. Figure 2 shows the letter patent that commissioned Sonia Sotomayor as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Note specifically the formula, "In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent and the Seal of the Department of Justice to be hereunto affixed" (Wagner 2014).[11] In diplomatic terms, this closing formula is a clause of corroboration, that is,

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10. The Act on Monopolies, enacted in 1624, established conditions for legitimate letters patent. In contrast to modern patents, which we noted before are considered a right to be granted when conditions are met, monopolies granted by the sovereign were still a matter of prerogative; this prerogative, however, was now subject to Common Law:

    And be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, That all Monopolies and all such Commissions Graunts Licences Charters lettres patents Proclamacions Inhibicions Restraints Warrants of Assistance and all other Matters and Things tendinge as aforesaid, and the force and validitie of them and every of them ought to be, and shalbe for ever hereafter examyned heard tryed and determined by and according to the Common Lawes of this Realme and not otherwise. (Statutes of the Realm 1819, 1212)

    (I have maintained the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation of the act as it appears in The Statutes of the Realm though I have expanded its copious abbreviations, as they are neither important for our purposes nor practical to reproduce.)

11. As is to be expected, Queen Elizabeth II frequently issues letters of patent, an example of which is the one that declared that the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge's children would be princes or princesses. The notice of this in The London Gazette reads as follows:

Figure 2. Letter
Patent Appointing
Sonia Sotomayor to
the Supreme Court
(Wagner, 2014)

BARACK OBAMA,

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

KNOW YE; That reposing special trust and confidence in the Wisdom, Uprightness, and Learning of Sonia Sotomayor, of New York, I have nominated, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, do appoint her an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and do authorize and empower her to execute and fulfill the duties of that Office according to the Constitution and Laws of the said United States, and to Have and to Hold the said Office, with all the powers, privileges and emoluments to the same of right appertaining, unto her, the said Sonia Sotomayor, during her good behavior.

In testimony whereof, I have caused these Letters to be made patent and the seal of the Department of Justice to be hereunto affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord two thousand nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirty-fourth.

[SEAL]   BARACK OBAMA
By the President:
    ERIC H. HOLDER,
        Attorney General

it "enunciat[es] the means used to validate the document and guarantee its authenticity" (DURANTI 1998, 148).[12] Duranti notes that, "The wording changes according to the time and place, but these clauses are usually formulaic and fixed. Examples are, 'I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal of Office', 'Signed and Sealed', 'Witness our Trustworthy and Beloved . . . ', etc." (1998, 148). This particular letter patent has a rather clearly defined protocol, text, and eschatocol. In this case, the protocol contains a brief entitling ("Barack Obama, President of the United States of America") and a general inscription ("To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting"). The text contains a notification ("Know Ye") and the disposition. The eschato-

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The Queen has been pleased by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the Realm dated 31 December 2012 to declare that all the children of the eldest son of The Prince of Wales should have and enjoy the style, title and attribute of Royal Highness with the titular dignity of Prince or Princess prefixed to their Christian names or with such other titles of honour.

12. Diplomatics is the study of historical documents. As such, it has a robust terminology for the description of said documents. For more on diplomatics, see Duranti (1998, 133–158) or Giry (1894).

col, or closing section, contains the clause of corroboration, the date, and the attestations of Obama and Eric Holder.

As we see from the clause of corroboration, the letter patent shares features with the performative speech act.[13] The letter patent does not merely describe that a grant has occurred (though I will argue later that it also does this) but also is the act that brings about the grant. A speech act consists of three parts: the locutionary act and what Austin called the illocutionary and perlocutionary acts (also called perlocutionary effect). Kempson (1977) explains the distinction thus:

> a speaker utters sentences with a particular meaning (locutionary act), and with a particular force (illocutionary act), in order to achieve a certain effect on the hearer (perlocutionary act). (p. 51)

That is, the perlocutionary effect is brought about by the illocutionary act, which is expressed in terms of a particular locutionary act. In terms of the letter patent, the locutionary act is found in the wording of the letter patent, the illocutionary act is that which creates the grant, and the perlocutionary effect is that the recipient has whatever privileges or writes the grant confers. In the case of the letter patent in figure 2, the perlocutionary effect is that Sonia Sotomayor is now an associate justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, with all that entails.

We might also speak of the letter's direction of fit (Searle 1975), where direction of fit indicates whether the words used affect the world (world-to-words) or the world affects the words used (words-to-world).[14] In one sense, the letter patent has a world-to-word direction of fit, i.e., by virtue of the state of affairs that the illocutionary act brings about, the world has changed to admit a particular perlocutionary result, that of Sotomayor's being on the Supreme Court. This contrasts with, say, a news report on her

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13. Austin (1975) identified performatives (as opposed to constatives) as having the following two qualities:

> A. they do not 'describe' or 'report' or constate anything at all, are not 'true or false'; and B. the uttering of the sentence is, or is part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as, or as 'just', saying something. (5)

> The performative/constative distinction is highly useful, though it must be recognized that Austin argues that the distinction ultimately collapses upon further investigation.

14. The terms "world-to-words" and "words-to-world" may seem a bit confusing. They are perhaps better phrased as "world-fits-words" and "words-fit-world", respectively.

appointment, which would have a word-to-world direction of fit, i.e. the words in report fit the situation in the world.

But in another sense, the letter patent is a report. The letter patent is predicated upon an imagined readership, an imagined public to which its perlocutionary act applies (readers are either Sotomayor herself and thus enjoy certain privileges and responsibilities or are or kept from exploiting those privileges by means of the letter). Yet, for all the public may care, the text has a words-to-world direction of fit because it can be read as a description of the state of the world, i.e. that the conditions granted by the letter exist, i.e. Sotomayor is an associate justice of the Supreme Court. Or, in the case of an invention, that a monopoly for a particular invention, which has a particular specification, exists.[15]

Figure 3 shows an example patent certificate from the early twentieth century.[16] As one can see, the form of the certificate had by this point become routinized such that spaces were made available for writing or typing in the details of a particular patent. It is nonetheless a letter patent. Duranti (1998, 154, 156–158), in her book on diplomatics, performs a diplomatic reading of the structure of this form of patent certificate. It contains three main parts: the protocol, text, and eschatocol. The protocol contains the inscription "to all to whom these presents shall come". The text con-

15. This duality of directions of fit is in fact part and parcel of this type of speech act. In Searle's (1975) taxonomy of speech acts, the act performed by the letter patent constitutes a declarative speech act. As Searle says:

> It is the defining characteristic of this class that the successful performance of one of its members brings about the correspondence between the propositional content and reality, successful performance guarantees that the propositional content corresponds to the world: if I successfully perform the act of appointing you chairman, then you are chairman; if I successfully perform the act of nominating you as candidate, then you are a candidate. (16–17)

> According to Searle, declarations are "very special category of speech acts" (18) because they have a bi-directional direction of fit. A declaration is both a performance that makes the world fit its words as well as a statement whose words fit the world now brought about by the performance.

16. It would have been ideal to base our discussion of the form of the patent certificate on one of the Phillips patents. However, USPTO does not seem to keep copies of the certificates themselves—only the specifications. Phillips would have received his certificate upon issuance of the grant. I have been in contact with the records department of Phillips Screw Company which has not, as of the date of this writing, been able to locate any of the original 1930s certificates. However, as one will see from the following discussion, the form of the letter patent was by that point formulaic. It is the formula in which we are interested.
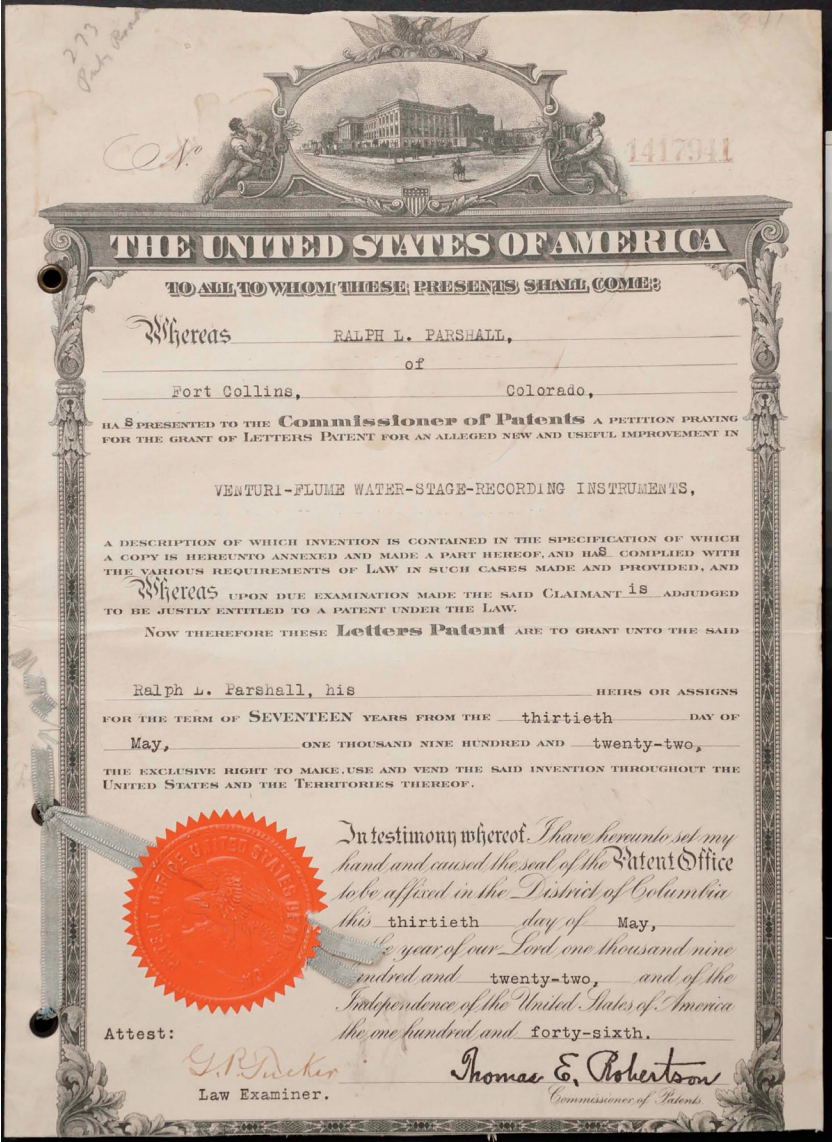
Figure 3. Patent Certificate for US 1,417,941. From the Water Resources Archive, Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

tains an exposition and a disposition. The exposition, i.e. "the narration of the concrete and immediate circumstances generating the act and/or the document" (146), consists of both clauses that begin with the conjunction "whereas". The disposition, "that is, the expression of the will or judgement of the author" (147), consists of part that starts with "now therefore" and ends with "territories thereof". The eschatocol begins with the formula "in testimony whereof".

A key portion of the exposition is the phrase "a description of which invention is contained in the specification of which a copy is hereunto annexed and made a part hereof". This is the mechanism by which the letter patent incorporates the invention's specification; the details of the invention or improvement are thus "made a part" of the letter patent itself by the illocutionary force of the phrase. In terms of the patent bargain, the specification is of prime importance, as it provides the PHOSITA with the information necessary to practice the invention when the patent expires (or at the point at which it is licensed from the patent holder). It is the portion of the patent in which the grant's words-to-world direction of fit is most easily recognized, as the specification seems to say that there exists in the world such an invention that conforms to the what is specified therein. The grant's world-to-words direction of fit, on the other hand, is most evident on the letter proper.

Patents as Social Actors

In addition, since the specification is not written by USPTO, the agency responsible for the letter patent, but by some combination of the inventor and his or her attorneys, it is clear evidence that the speech act of the patent grant is a collaborative one. After all, a patent passes through many hands. Its illocutionary act may be determined by convention and its illocutionary force the purview of the sovereign government, but many labor in the production and review of the patent text. Indeed, just as particular social conditions need to be in place in order to perform the speech act involved in getting married, conditions, called felicity conditions, need to be respected in order to bring about the desired result. In many cases this means several individuals need to be involved in the in producing—and verifying the truth of—the patent text.

Let us look at a (fictionalized) extreme case. In Charles Dickens's "A Poor Man's Tale of a Patent", which appeared in Household Words in

1850,[17] Old John, the titular poor man, goes through thirty-five steps to patent his invention. After laboring for twenty years fabricating it, he presents it to his learned friend, William Butcher, who asks, "What will you do with it, John?" This leading question serves as a pretense to educate John on the ills of the Victorian patent process:

> I said, "Patent it." William said, "How Patent it, John?" I said, "By taking out a Patent." William then delivered that the law of Patent was a cruel wrong. William said, "John, if you make your invention public, before you get a Patent, anyone may rob you of the fruits of your hard work. You are put in a cleft stick, John. Either you must drive a bargain very much against yourself, by getting a party to come forward beforehand with the great expenses of the Patent; or you must be put about, from post to pillar, among so many parties, trying to make a better bargain for yourself, and showing your invention, that your invention will be took from you over your head." I said, "William Butcher, are you cranky? You are sometimes cranky" (Dickens 1850, 74).

Butcher's potential crankiness—he swears he is not—is understandable: there is a fair distance between patenting an invention by "taking out a patent" and patenting one by being "put about, from post to pillar, among so many parties". Butcher discloses the unruly innerworkings of the patent system, which John treats, in his naiveté, as a singular entity. Old John soon learns, after spending £96.7s.8d. and more than a month going through "thirty-five stages" of being "hustled backwards and forwards among all those offices" (Dickens 1850, 75), what George Dodd[18] later declared, namely that, "The subject of Patents is rather incomprehensible

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17. Contributions to Household Words were typically anonymous. Lohrli, using the journal's records, identifies Dickens as the author of this piece (1973, 68). Dickens revisits the absurdities that inventors faced in *Little Dorrit*, by way of Daniel Doyce's dealings with the Circumlocution Office, a venerable bureaucracy that cultivates what we would today call "best practices" in the area of "HOW NOT TO DO IT" (Dickens [1857] 2002, 107). Doyce's invention, after he suffers "interminable attendance and correspondence, after infinite impertinences, ignorances, and insults" (123), and after numerous public trials, effectively disappears into the machinery of the Circumlocution Office.
18. Identified by Lohrli (1973, 164).

to those not concerned in them, and often disappointing to those who are" (Dodd 1857, 190).[19]

In this example, the black box of patenting, when opened up, consists of many documents (an initial petition, a "report-of-course" based on the petition, a warrant based on the report, a "Queen's bill" based on the warrant, and a "signet bill" based on the Queen's bill) that pass through the hands of numerous individuals and offices (Home Secretary, Attorney-General, the Home Office, the Queen, the Patent Office, Clerk of the Signet, Clerk of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Clerk of the Patents, not to mention numerous others who require payment). Though fictionalized, this account hews closely to Dickens's story is based on a treatise for patent reform by Sir Henry Cole who "enumerated, probably for the first time on a single page" the thirty-five necessary steps for obtaining a patent (Cole 1884, 275).[20] The Cole-Dickens critique is that all this labor is not necessary or even germane to the realm of invention. Old John is a "working-man that never labors less . . . than twelve or fourteen hour a day" (Dickens 1850, 73) and whose twenty years' labor on an invention seems only to be the preamble to the real task of procuring a patent. Superfluous or not, the patent process of the time required the patentee to circulate his or her invention to numerous individuals who participated in the patenting effort.[21]

19. The situation, for Old John, is alienating in addition to being expensive and inconvenient. He asks, "Is it reasonable to make a man feel as if, in inventing an ingenious improvement meant to do good, he had done something wrong?" (Dickens 1850, 75). Daniel Doyce complains of much the same thing, i.e. being "made to feel . . . as if [he] had committed an offence" (Dickens [1857] 2002, 123).

20. Dickens sent a letter to Cole on September 25th, 1850 (just about three weeks before the story appeared on October 19th), saying "Your proof has greatly interested me. I shall be happy to 'join the Union', and I am now at work on a paper for 'Household Words' which I hope may help the question in a taking manner" (Cole 1884, 274). Cole is probably best known as organizer, along with Prince Albert, of the 1851 Great Exhibition.)

21. Whether a patent process could exist without particular acts of labor—no matter how inconsequential they may be—is beside the point. Within that particular process at that point in time they were necessary conditions for the granting of the patent. Without these, the patent could not be granted because the conditions for felicity would not have been met. The process could, as Cole was trying to do, be re-formed into one in which such acts of labor were not necessary conditions.

The creation of a patent is collaborative in that numerous actors co-labor to bring it about. It participates in relationships among and between inventors, research and manufacturing firms, universities, government agencies, and those who implement and use the invention. These relationships, especially those described by what Etzkowitz and Leydesdorff have called "the Triple Helix of university-industry-government relations" (2000, 109), facilitate the patent's creation and negotiate its socioeconomic value.[22] But it would be a mistake to consider the patent as a mere object passed about from subject to subject. Rather, the patent is a quasi-object that conveys onto these actors the subjective experience of the network in which they are all enmeshed. Michel Serres theorizes the quasi-object in his work on the parasite; the metaphor he uses is a children's game in which an item called a "furet" ("ferret" in English) is passed between players. As Serres says,

> The quasi-object is not an object, but it is one nevertheless, since it is not a subject, since it is in the world; it is also a quasi-subject, since it marks or designates a subject who, without it, would not be a subject. He who is not discovered with the furet in his hand is anonymous, part of a monotonous chain where he remains undistinguished. He is not an individual; he is not recognized, discovered, cut; he is of the chain and in the chain. (2007, 225)

As Ekbia notes, Serres's quasi-object is an attempt to "theorize community . . . from a materialist perspective" (2009, 2557). A patent is a material object that provides linkages between members of a community that would otherwise not be linked in quite this manner. For the purposes of a given invention as it works its way through the patent system, the inventor, lawyer, or examiner is not anonymous only insofar as he or she engages with said patent.[23]

Some of the collaborative aspects of the modern patent process show traces of themselves on the patent grant, namely the coauthorship efforts of lawyers and examiners. Figure 4 shows the byline of U.S. patent number 2,046,837, "Means For Uniting a Screw with a Driver" (Phillips 1936a).

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22. Morillo and Efrain-Garcia (2015) have also studied the role of non-profit technology centers in technology production.
23. This is not to say that those people do not have subjectivity in the sense of experiencing the phenomenal world but rather that they are made subjects within the patent "game" by association with the patent.

Figure 4. Byline of U.S. Patent 2,046,837, "Means For Uniting a Screw with a Driver".

INVENTOR.

HENRY F PHILLIPS

BY *James D. Givnan.*

ATTORNEYS.

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5,393,071 A   *   2/1995   Best 463/35

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"Vagrant Story"; Instruction Manual, Square Electronic Arts LLC, 1999, p. 8.

* cited by examiner

Primary Examiner—Mark Sager
Assistant Examiner—Steven Ashburn
(74) *Attorney, Agent, or Firm*—Nixon & Vanderhye P.C.

Figure 5. References Cited in U.S. Patent 6,935,954 B2, "Sanity System for Video Game".

Awarded in 1936, it lists two people, inventor Henry F. Phillips and his attorney James D. Givnan. The words "inventor" and "attorneys" are fixed parts of the form, implying an inventor-attorney patent collaboration, for which "by" indicates co-authorship.[24] Similarly, the work of examiners shows itself in the references cited in the patent. Figure 5 shows those in U.S. patent number 6,935,954 B2, "Sanity System for Video Game" (Sterchi et al. 2005), which cites U.S. 5,393,071 A. The asterisk next to the

24. Note that "attorneys" is plural even though there is only one attorney. This is an indication that the text printed on this part of the page is standard.

reference indicates that the examiner, not the inventors or patent attorney cited it.

Collaboration need not imply a harmonious relationship. Though Givnan appears as attorney on five other utility patents with Phillips, and one design patent, all awarded during the 1930s (Phillips 1936b,c; Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936a,b; Phillips 1937a,b), by 1944 Phillips and his Phillips Screw Company were working with a different patent attorney, E.G. Buckhorn (Phillips 1946). That year Givnan stopped working with the Phillips Screw Company and filed his own patent application, also for a screw (Givnan 1946). Within the next few years he had formed the Givnan Recessed Screw Company to exploit this patent (Phillips Screw Co. v. Givnan 1954). Phillips Screw Company sued Givnan and the case was ultimately decided by the Supreme Court of Oregon, which stated that:

> There is no question that defendant Givnan was guilty of breach of trust in obtaining the patent for his own account since he occupied a confidential relation with the company as its patent attorney, and the invention leading up to his patent unquestionably took shape in his mind during the ten years he was acting for the company. (Phillips Screw Co. v. Givnan 1954)

This ruling emphasizes the collaborative aspect of the patent process. Givnan's involvement with the Phillips Screw Company was such that what "took shape in his mind" could not be disentangled from the set of relationships forged by the engineering and patenting process.

The Phillips Patents

The Phillips screw and driver are two complex yet commonplace inventions. The dual technologies of screw and driver are often noticed only when performing poorly—such as when the driver strips a screw or slips out of the cruciform. The relationship between the two (and in some cases, the failure of said relationship) is mediated and mandated by a series of patent documents issued to Henry Phillips in the 1930s. In addition to patenting the screw and its driver, Phillips also patented the "means for uniting" the two. The precision with which this unification is specified, accompanied by a specific misreading of the patent, have given rise to a common belief that the Phillips system was designed such that the driver was supposed to come out under certain circumstances. This belief interprets a design flaw

Figure 6. Detail of US
Patent 1,908,080

Fig. 4.

Inventor

J. P. Thompson.
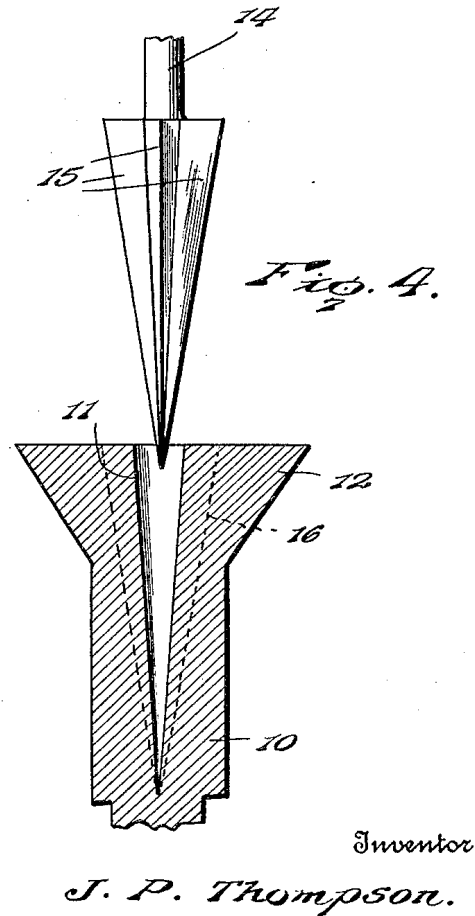
as a feature and maintains the aura of the author-inventor as a masterful engineer whose intent governs not only wording of the document but also the objects which are patterned from it. The notion of the solitary inventory who is solely responsible for the content of a patent's specification is, because of the text's social nature, problematic. Indeed, much of what Foucault (1998) says of authors is also true of author-inventors. Yet we will see in the Phillips patents an attempt to closely control the relationships both among patent specifications and between the screw and driver.

There is no one patent that defines the Phillips screw, just as there is no one patent which defines its corresponding driver. We will concentrate on a nexus of seven different utility patents that contribute to our understanding—and misunderstanding—of the intent of the inventors. On May 9, 1933, Phillips was issued two patents: 1,908,080 and '81, assigned to him by

the inventor John P. Thompson (Thompson 1933a; Thompson 1933b). 1,908,080, filed in May 1932, describes a type of cruciform screw, while '81, filed in June 1932, describes a corresponding driver. These patents define the immediate ancestor to what we think of as the Phillips screw and driver. Figure 6 shows a drawing of the driver engaging the screw.

Thompson had two goals for improving upon existing cruciform screw designs. His screw was designed such that the same driver could drive screws of different sizes. Furthermore, it was meant to be produced cheaply and efficiently in an automated fashion. Thompson argues that:

> Hitherto the manufacture of screws with a cruciform or other shape of aperture has been impractical, several types requiring casting, which is so expensive as to make manufacturing costs prohibitive. Other types require broaching. This operation pushes the metal ahead of the tool and so disturbs the distribution of metal as to render the screw head extremely fragile. (Thompson 1933, 1)

Regular screws, in contrast, were produced cheaply by means of automation. Thompson accomplishes his two goals by devising a cruciform screw with an opening whose "side walls . . . converge downwardly to a point on the axis of the screw and converge radially outward to a knife edge" (Thompson 1933, 1). This screw can be punched by means of automated equipment and provide the benefits that come with cruciform screws, all while remaining durable and inexpensive. Since the driver comes to a fine point—what Thompson calls a "knife's edge", it can be used with screws of different sizes. While this is a useful feature, it by no means also for an ideal coupling of screw and driver since one cannot specify the length of the driver the screw will receive.

On July 7, 1936, Phillips received five screw-related patents: 2,046,343, '837, '838, '839, and '840 (Phillips 1936a; Phillips 1936b; Phillips 1936c; Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936a; Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936b). He is listed as the sole inventor on three of them; 2,046,839 and '840 were co-invented by Thomas M. Fitzpatrick. The relationships among these patents and between these patents and ones that come before are a bit obscure, so we will proceed through them slowly. '343, '837, and '838 were filed on July 3, 1934, just over two years before they were granted. '839 and '840 were filed early the next year, on January 15, 1935, along with another patent, 2,066,484, which was eventually granted on January 5, 1937 (Phillips 1937).
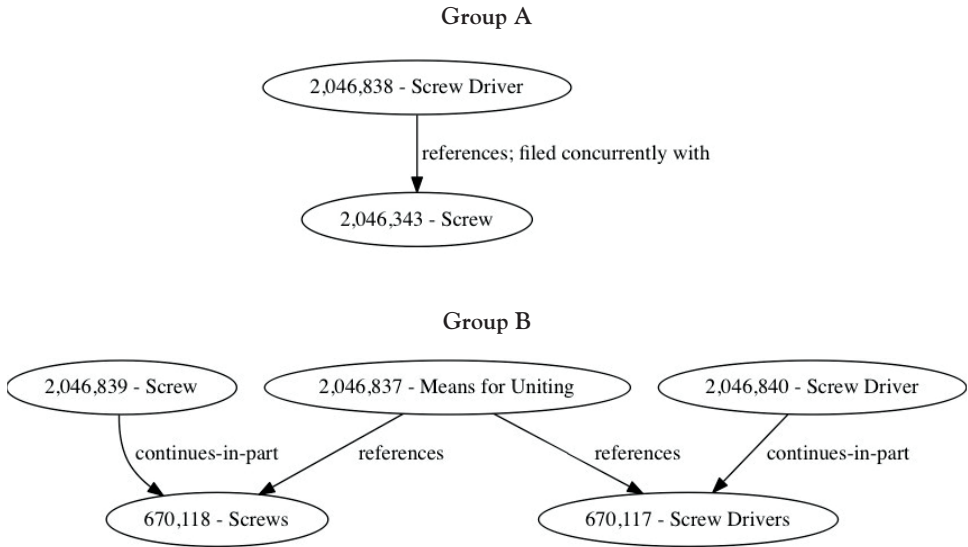
Group A

Group B

Figure 7. Relationships between Phillips' July 1936 Patents

Figure 7 graphs relationships between the July 1936 patents. Several of the patents refer to other patents. '838, a patent for a screw driver, mentions it is "adapted for operative engagement with the type of screw shown and described in [his] co-pending application filed concurrently herewith and entitled Screws, Serial Number 733,623" (Phillips 1936c, 1), which was granted as '343. Furthermore, two applications are continuations-in-part of prior applications and thus have a special referential relationship with those applications. According to the MPEP, "A continuation-in-part is an application filed during the lifetime of an earlier nonprovisional application, repeating some substantial portion or all of the earlier nonprovisional application and adding matter not disclosed in the said earlier nonprovisional application" (§201.08). A continuation-in-part carries the filing date of the earlier application. '839, a patent for a screw, continues an application with serial number 670,118, which Phillips filed on May 9, 1933 (Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936a, 1). '840, a patent for a screw driver, continues an application with serial number 670,117, which Phillips also filed on May 9, 1933 (Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936b, 1).

Every indication points to the fact that patents for those two prior applications were never granted in the United States, though the inventions were patentable. '837, a patent specifying the "means for uniting a screw
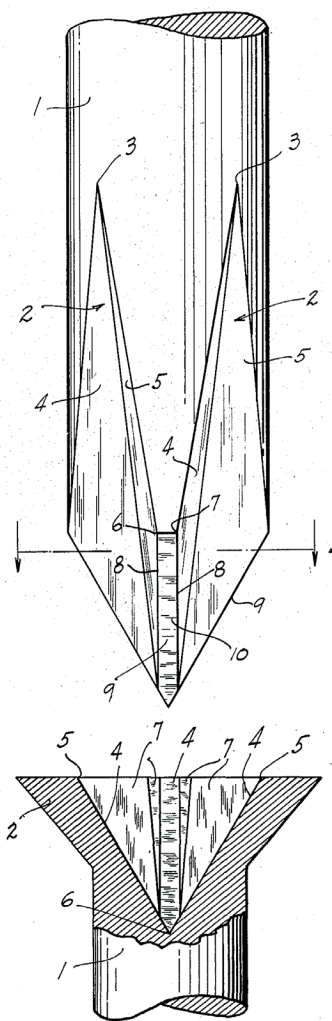
Figure 8. Composite Image of Screw and Driver from A Group

with a driver", cites both of these prior applications and mentions the dates on which they were "allowed" (Phillips 1936b, 1). An allowed patent is one that the patent examiner has deemed should be granted but that hasn't yet been granted. After fees are paid, allowed patents get issued. From figure 7, it is clear that there are two distinct groups of patents, A and B. Thus Phillips was issued patents in the same year for two different sets of screws and drivers, as well as a "means for uniting" screw and driver that references an earlier version of one of the sets. The earlier versions, i.e. 670,117 and 670,118, we will refer to as Ur-B.

Phillips filed the Ur-B applications for a screw and driver on May 9, 1933, the same day the Thompson screw and driver patents were issued. Both of the Ur-B applications were allowed, but not issued, in April 1934. In the summer of 1934, he filed the A applications, for a different screw and driver, as well as one of the B applications that makes explicit reference to the Ur-B applications. This "means for uniting a screw and driver" was a conceptual advance as far as stipulating the precise relationship between the parts involved. Meanwhile, the Ur-B applications were reworked and their continuations-in-part, the B applications, were submitted in January 1935. The A and B patents were all issued in July 1936.

Since the B patents, being continuations-in-part, supersede the Ur-B applications, the Ur-B applications were not published. Thus precisely what was common between them and what was new material is unknown. It is possible that the Ur-B applications reference the Thompson screw and driver, though, because of their respective shapes, it is less likely that they

would cite the Thompson inventions than the A patents would. At any rate, it is significant that Phillips chose not to have the Ur-B patents issued even though they were allowed and thus eligible to be issued. That is, the examiner considered them patentable but Phillips chose not to patent them even though he had gone through the process.

The A patents show a common heritage with the Thompson patents. The recess in the A screw, and thus end of the A driver, come to a fine point. However, the angle created by the meeting of the sides of each of these is much greater in the A patents than in the Thompson patents. This results in the A driver looking less menacing than the Thompson driver, less knife-like (see figure 8). This angle would also have meant losing some degree of the one-size-fits-all aspect of the Thompson driver.

The B screw and driver patents are quite different.[25] Notice, in figure 9, that the B recesses and corresponding drivers are much less dramatic than the ones in the A patents or the Thompson patents. The "knife's edge" is almost entirely gone. In this sense, the B patents are more in line with contemporary Phillips screws and drivers.
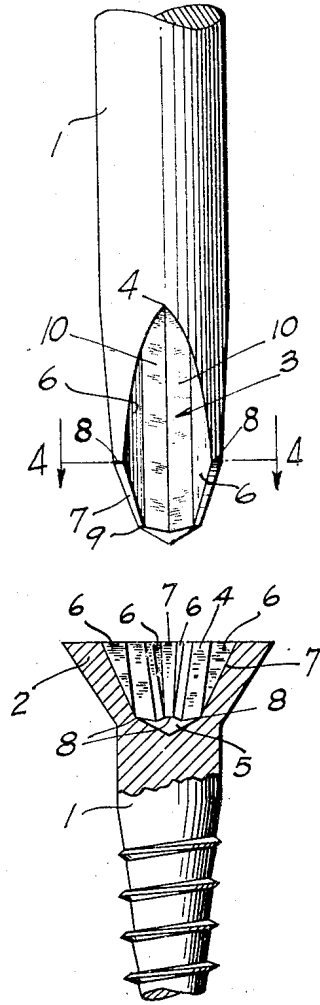

Figure 9. Composite Image of Screen and Driver from B Group

25. '839 and '840 define two screws and drivers, respectively, one set being the primary set and the second one being an alternate. The alternate versions differ only slightly in that they smooth out small portions of the recess. The alternate versions were potentially patented in order to keep competitors from making the same sort of changes and circumventing at least one of the patent claims. For our purposes, the slight differences between the primary and alternate sets are of no consequence.

There are key similarities between the A and B patents that demonstrate an advancement on the kind of screw and driver envisioned in the Thompson patents. That is, they are both designed such that the driver fulfills most if not all of the screw's recess. Patent '838 is for "a type of driver particularly adapted for operative engagement with the type of screw shown and described in my co-pending application" (Phillips 1936cc). That is, "The principal object of the invention is the provision of a tool of this character particularly adapted for precise and firm engagement within a recess of corresponding shape". Furthermore, the corresponding screw is "particularly adapted to be actuated" by the driver and "provide[s] means for self-centering said driver with respect to the screw, this same means also acting as a positive lock and stabilizer" (Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936a). Similarly, "the principal object of ['840] is to provide a screw driver formed at one of its ends with a bit of special configuration to fit precisely within a recess of corresponding shape formed in the head of all sizes of screws for driving the same" (Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936b).

One key difference between the A and B patents is the degree to which the driver fills the entire recess. Figure 10 shows the patent drawings adapted to show the drivers' engagement with the screw recesses. This image was created without modifying the proportions of any of the drivers with respect to their screws. In the case of the A patents, the driver fits perfectly within the A screws recess. When manufactured to these specifications, such a driver would have no play. On the other hand, there is a bit of play between the driver and the screw recess in the B patents. This is shown on the right where the red indicating the recess is viewable on the sides. This extra space presumably accounts for the fact that the B driver is meant to be used with screws of differing size.

'837 is a peculiar patent, titled "Means for Uniting a Screw and Driver". What '837 claims is not any particular screw or driver, but rather features of any screw or driver that help the two form a single unit. That is, it "is directed to a composite structure of a screw and a tool or driver therefor, and more particularly to the provision of co-operative means in each of said elements in the ordinary manner of presenting a driver to a screw, will cause the two to become securely united" (Phillips 1936b). The effect is that "screw and driver are joined together in operative relation, instead of the driver merely occupying the space defined by the recess as is the case in the aforesaid separate screw and driver inventions". '837 is not a patent meant to merge the '839 and '840 patents. Rather, '837 defines a *union* of a screw and a driver that may indeed be those described by the other B patents:
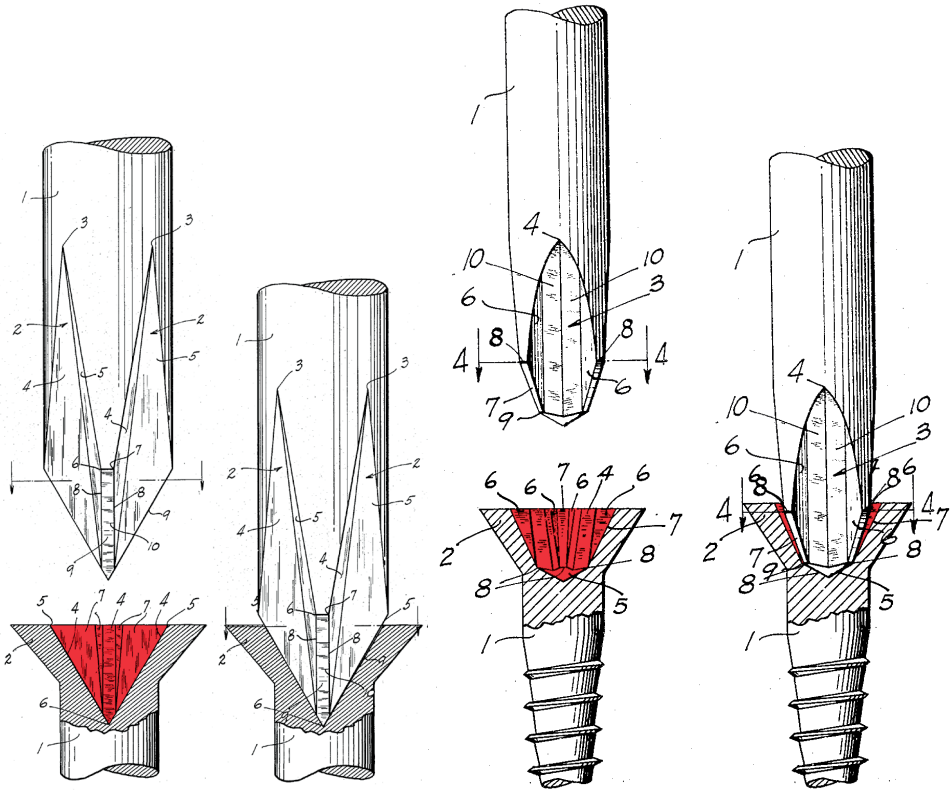
Figure 10. Images from A and B patents adapted to show the drivers' engagement with the screw recesses Left: A patents. Right: B patents.

The screw and driver shown and described in the aforesaid allowed patent applications, comprise a tool-receiving recess formed in the screw head and a tool formed at its working end with a bit made to fit precisely the recess in the screw. In other words, the precision limits of manufacture of the recess are identical with those of the correspondingly shaped end of the driver, so that a perfect fit between the two without binding or wedging is accomplished.

In contrast to these structural characteristics, of identical form, the elements constituting my present form of composite invention are constructed along complementary angular lines to effect a positive wedging engagement when the screw and driver are joined together in operative relation, instead of the driver merely occupying the space defined by the

recess as is the case in the aforesaid separate screw and driver inventions. (1)

The wedging action that allows a Phillips screw to "stick" to a Phillips screwdriver such that the two stay together before and during the application of force is a consequence of this invention. This wedging action allows for a tight coupling of screw and driver.

We see in Phillips's work a tendency both toward more tightly specified relationships between invented objects and toward more inter-textual relationships between patents. As Phillips's work progresses, the patents become more tightly coupled just as the coupling between screw and driver becomes tighter. By the time '837 was filed, the two are elements of a well-regulated, highly-specified whole.

What, then, when that whole fails to stay whole? A 1988 piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (Bailey 1988) called the Phillips screw "one of the world's least loved inventions. The reason: the screwdriver's maddening tendency to slip out of the screw head instead of turning it". The article continues:

> This is known as "cam-out" in the tool trade, and it often leads to stripped screw heads, ruined screwdrivers, skinned knuckles, lost tempers and untold domestic discord. This doesn't result from some innocent design flaw, incidentally. . . . The idea was that the automated screwdrivers would turn the screw with increasing force until the top of the driver popped out. Which brings us to the real scandal behind the invention of the fiendish screw: it was designed to cam out as it was driven in by automated screwdrivers, so the screw head wouldn't be ruined.

Bailey interprets the failure of the Phillips driver to properly do its job as a design feature rather than a flaw. He provides no evidence for this assertion.

There is a short Wikipedia article on cam out that points to the Phillips screw and driver as an example of the phenomenon. As of February 2017, it states that:

> The Phillips design is auto-centering, that is, the screw does not slip off the screwdriver, unlike normal slotted-head screws, but it cams out once the screw has been driven home. These properties were used to speed up automobile production in the US in the early years of the industry.

As of this writing, that final statement is followed by the dreaded "citation needed" tag and rightfully so. Like Bailey, the Wikipedia authors cite no source for this. To be sure, the phrasing here does not explicitly claim that cam out was an intended feature of the Phillips screw but merely that it was used, intent aside, in the automobile industry. This claim was part of the article's first version, created on February 25, 2007 by user West London Dweller, who commented on his work that it was an "initial stub, as I'd never heard of 'cam out'."

It seems odd that someone who had never heard of the phenomenon would write an article on it and not provide any sources.[26] In West London Dweller's initial version of the article, the text cited above is preceded by the following:

Frequently, camming out damages the screw, and possibly also the screwdriver, and is usually attempted to be avoided. However, the Phillips head screw and screwdriver combination was designed specifically to cam-out, as at the time of its invention torque sensing automatic screwdrivers did not exist.

This claim persists for some time. On May 24, 2010, an unnamed user edited the article simply to add the word "not" before "designed specifically to cam-out". This edit was quickly reverted by user Wizar191 who "identified [it] as vandalism". On October 31, 2011, user Theon144 added the citation needed tag right after claim, writing "citation needed about the claim that philips [sic] head screw designed specifically to cam out". This tag persisted until June 16, 2015 when an anonymous user changed the article to read in part that "The Phillips head screw and screwdriver combination was *not* purposely designed to cam out when the screw stalled", an assertion he or she backs up by citing Adler (1998).[27] After a review of the Phillips patents, Adler concluded that Bailey's claim that "Phillips designed the bit

26. By June 1, 2007, user Ravedave tagged the article with a template message saying that the "article does not cite any sources", a message that persisted until it was removed, without reason, by an unnamed user on September 9. User Robofish reapplied the template on December 30. It persisted until November 10, 2009, when it was removed, after an attempt to provide sources, by user Rumping. It has not appeared since.

27. This edit was made after a version of this paper was presented at the Society for Textual Scholarship conference Loyola University Chicago in 2013. That version had also cited Adler's work, specifically his assertion that cam out was not intentional. It is unlikely, though, that my presentation caused someone to make this edit.

. . . to "cam-out" . . . does not appear to be the case" (2.2). Instead, "Phillips's claim of a camming or wedging action to dislodge foreign particles found in the screw recess has created confusion". That is, Adler implies, a misreading of '837 has caused the view that cam out was part of the design all along.

There is little reason to argue that elements of an invention that are not explicitly stated in a patent specification are, for the purposes of the patent grant, intentional. Letters patent for inventions can only effect a grant for claims that are explicitly made in the specification. The formula for this, which appears several times in any given patent specification, is clear: "I claim X". The illocutionary force of the letter patent can only act on behalf of what has been claimed. To put it another way, in order for the world to fit the words, the words have to exist.

Indeed, there is further evidence in the Phillips patents against the claim that cam out was intentional. In '839, one of the B patents, Phillips says that:

> One of the principal objects of the invention is the provision of a recess in the head of a screw which is particularly adapted for firm engagement with a correspondingly shaped driving tool or screw driver, and in such a way that there will be no tendency of the driver to cam out of the recess when united in operative engagement with each other. (Phillips and Fitzpatrick 1936a)

As we see here, Phillips was actively trying to prevent cam out, not make it a feature of his invention.

The change to the Wikipedia article lasted less than three minutes. Later on June 16, 2015, user Anaxial, likely not knowing that the change had been made as a means of countering an earlier statement that the Phillips system had been designed to cam out, came across the statement that it had not been in the context of an article specifically on cam out. He or she thus removed the sentence entirely, commenting "Then why mention it?" Thus the argument that Phillips meant for cam out to happen disappears from the article. It has not appeared since.

Conclusion: Bug or Feature?

If you reached the end of this article on an electronic device—and that device is intact—then its fasteners are doing the job for which they were

designed. They hold surfaces together, keeping electronic components inside. Perhaps, in the case of specialty fasteners, such as Apple's pentalobe screws, they keep you on the outside. How do we know they were designed for this? Indeed, in the face of indeterminacy, how can we say what any historical inventions were meant to do? As we see from the discussion of cam out above, accidental features of inventions can easily come to be part of the interpretation of intent.

The sociotechnical context of the invention provides us with a starting point. We can infer with confidence that pentalobe screws were meant to make it difficult to open devices because such screws were introduced well before widespread availability of their corresponding drivers and such screws seem not to afford anything different than a typical fastener. In its early days, the Phillips screw would have also been an oddity; yet we know the Phillips screw was intended to have benefits over and above other screws. We know this because of key actors in the Phillips screw and driver's sociotechnical context: the Phillips patents.

The present work has explored the textuality of patents. It asserted that the patent grant is a social creature, having been made through the collaboration of inventors, drafters, attorneys, officials, and others, as well as in the sense that it cannot be felicitously effected without fitting particular social requirements. The speech act that creates a patent grant has, as all declarative speech acts do, a dual direction of fit. It is both the instrument that brings about the patent grant, i.e. it makes the world fit its words, as well as a means of providing a report on the invention and the grant of monopoly, i.e. its words fit the new state of the world. As with all social creatures, the patent cannot control its own interpretation. While the words fit the world, those words are only one participant in a network of actors. The Phillips patents, though they show evidence of increasing precision in the design of the invention, cannot force individuals not to misread them.

That misreading, i.e. the assertion that cam out was a design feature rather than a flaw is, in a way, a means of recuperating the inventor. It is what Sedgwick (1997) might call a "reparative reading" of the patent because it generously ascribes a meaning to the patent that allows the inventor to stay nominally in control of the effects of his or her invention. There is something oddly comforting about this move to say that an aspect of a thing's operation is not an aberration, that instead it is acting as it is meant to—that, to use the language of software development, it is not a bug but a feature. As Ekbia (2009) has shown, bugs and features are not Platonic concepts existing *a priori* to development. Instead, this difference is socially mediated among developers, quality assurance analysts, users,

and other interested parties. In the case of the Phillips screws' cam out, interpreting it as a feature serves to reinforce the mythological figure of the genius inventor. It seems to say that someone, however far removed from our current context, accounted for the features of the fasteners with which we interact every day. It works to reassure us that some *person* is behind even the most mundane aspects of our technology.

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The Cities of Genesis

Religion, Economics and the Rise of Modernity[1]

Sigmund A. Wagner-Tsukamoto

ABSTRACT

The paper argues the thesis that the modern city rises in Genesis and that urban development intertwines (a) with changes to religious concepts from spiritual religion to rational religion, and (b) with changes to economic concepts from behavioural socio-economics to non-behavioural institutional economics. The conclusion arrived at is that the modern city and religious pluralism do manifest themselves, exemplarily so in the final stories of Genesis. Then, ideas on rational religion and institutional economic governance become much more visible. Through textual, narratological analysis, the paper contributes to an institutional economic theory of ancient polity, religious text and of Old Testament-based religion.

> In Mesopotamia, . . . the great upward surge of the cultural process . . . coincided with the appearance of [the] first great urban centers. What ecological and other factors led to the growth of cities? How does the life of the concentrated urban society affect culture? When the city-state gives way to empire is the culture pattern changed? (KRAELING 1960, v)

I. Starting Points, Research Questions and Research Contributions

It is generally acknowledged that the study of culture starts with the study of religion. To speak with Kraeling, as quoted above, how would then the "*religious* culture pattern" change when we see polities like cities emerge and develop over time? Which factors drive such changes? The paper here aims at the same research questions and contributions that have inspired

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1. The paper benefitted greatly from discussions with members of the Management & Organization Division of the School of Business, University of Leicester (10 June 2016); very special thanks to Elke Weik.

research on urban history and the ancient city at least since the 19th century. Like Fustel de Coulagnes's *La Cité Antique* from 1864, I search for the religious principles that governed the ancient city. This search is textual in nature, the paper investigating stories about the cities of Genesis, and conceding that Genesis is ancient text, which emerged in Antiquity, its oldest parts going back some 3000–4000 years. However, as much as the paper is bound to trace the ancient in this sense, it contests views that ancient cities were necessarily premodern, as is commonly argued.

As a piece of literary prose, Genesis is at least as significant as a Shakespeare text; but in contrast to the Shakespeare text, Genesis and the Bible carry religious significance; they project to religious realities for so many cultural communities around the globe. In this respect, the paper accepts that Genesis is religious text; however, "the religious" may be interpreted. More conventionally, one might expect spiritual religious significance for Genesis. Nonetheless, this is debated by the paper: Religious concept, as it can be reconstructed from the text, may move away from spiritual religion and therefore religious significance may transform.

The paper then analyzes how different concepts of religion align with different concepts of economics when Genesis discusses the governance of the city, raising the theses that Genesis moves from spiritual religion to rational religion, and from a behavioral socio-economics to a non-behavioural institutional economics (as I discuss these concepts later). In this way, the paper links up organizational concept on ". . . expanding political institutions, the changing character of their religious thought, . . . and literature, and the growing oikumene which they brought about" (Adams 1960, 25). Through textual expedition, we may discover ancient cities that were indeed premodern, with a view to spiritual religious concept and behavioural socio-economics; cities that did not generate wealth (economic growth) and did not reflect economic ideas of organizing and ordering society. Weber exemplarily argued this and this may be more conventionally expected (Kluckhohn 1960; Weber 1958; further references are listed below). Nonetheless, the paper also searches for the modern city in Genesis; with a view to ideas on rational religion and non-behavioral institutional economics; cities that create economic growth and wealth, and otherwise can be seen to be entangled with modernity.

On a methodological note, the paper develops arguments through textual, non-historiographical analysis. This approach to religious and biblical studies was set out elsewhere (Alter 1981; Bal 2009; Brett 2000a; 2000b; Clines 1978; Clines & Exum 1993; Fokkelman 1975). I treat the stories of Genesis as prose fiction, following text-critical, narratological

lines of inquiry, connecting to discourse-oriented studies. As noted, the paper concedes here that the Genesis text carries religious significance.

In certain regards, textual, non-historiographic narratological analysis can be projected in historic perspective, particularly so in normative-historical perspective. One can ask what political and ethical purpose could be attributed to the Genesis text regarding societal (city) contexts in which the biblical stories emerged some 3000–4000 years ago. It is difficult to imagine that historically these stories did not have some political and ethical rationale regarding the governance of society at the time. Snyman speaks of biblical stories being written by and for the "upper echelons of society" (Snyman 2012, 674–675; also Toorn 2007, 1–7). A function as a quasi-legal, normative resource, as parables on political institutional governance can be deduced (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2013a, 393). And from here we can contest suggestions that ". . . no political treatise is known from textual sources of ancient Near Eastern civilization" (May & Steinert 2014, 25). Algaze (2008, 12) stakes a similar claim, but overlooked the Old Testament when discussing "archaic texts" that could describe ancient urbanization. A main contribution of the current paper is to critically examine such propositions by tracing and interrelating different religious and economic concepts that contribute to the organization and governance of the city in Genesis.

Normative historical, political purposes can then be examined for *actual* historical, political governance problems that could have been implied by the biblical text. However, such empirical-historical or archaeologically informed research is a subject matter outside the purpose, focus and scope of the present paper. The current paper only aims at "text mining" when discussing the ancient city. On this textual basis alone the paper addresses its research questions and aims to make its research contributions. This implies that my analysis of the cities of Genesis is conceptual in nature, as this is generally promoted by narratological discourse-oriented analysis when it engages sociological, anthropological, psychological, economic or other theories.

Section Two sets out the framework for this project and the remainder of the paper, in Sections Three and Four, develops this framework further when tracing the cities of Genesis. The paper then investigates the textual, chronological storyline of Genesis with a view to changes to religious and economic concepts when cities emerge; and how this illuminates the rise of modernity in the course of Genesis, and what modernity amounts to here. This inquiry engages a certain degree of complexity when interrelating ideas on city, religion, and economics. Such complexity, in different ways

and degrees, needs to be accepted when tackling questions of the modern city (Roseman, Laux & Thieme 1996, xvii–xxvii; Machule 1997, 49).

II. Conceptual Dimensions of Tracing the City in Genesis

Practically and conceptually, the problems of the premodern city can be said to be different from those of smaller social units, such as villages (Mumford 1961, 30; Parker 2011, 14). From the opposite perspective, a fuller discussion of the modern city in relation to post-modernity is clearly desirable too. For reasons of focus and because of the constraints of writing a journal article, these debates are not a part of this paper. The current paper then critically debates approaches that tried to conclusively define the ancient city by relegating it to the premodern, especially so by classifying it with a view to spiritual religion, and by conceptually altogether separating religion from the modern city, claiming the modern city to be secularized in one way or another. Indeed, can we project ideas on modern urban development to the ancient cities of Genesis? What could the premodern versus the modern reflect when tracing the cities of Genesis? And what happens to "the religious" in the course of this process?

Contesting the Premodern for the Cities of Genesis: From Spiritual Religion to Rational Religion

The premodern city has been said to reflect the small city (Childe 1950, 4; Davis 1969, 8–11; Gallion & Eisner 1975, 19); the semi-rural city (Childe 1950, 16; Weber 1958, 74); the city of pre-industrial, mainly agrarian work patterns, with economic growth not being fostered by the city (Breese 1966, 46, 50, 53; Davis 1969, 8) and the city being potentially close to feudal order (Childe 1950, 13–14; Gallion & Eisner 1975, 43; Mumford 1961, 59; Weber 1958, 82–84, 100, 112, 133–134, 152, 163, 174, 176, 190; Weber 1978, 1292, 1315–1317). In the same vein, but especially important for the purpose of the current paper, the premodern city has been viewed as spiritual religious: value homogeneous, traditionalist and potentially anti-pluralistic, even "despotic" (Liverani 1997, 86; also Breese 1966, 49–50; Childe 1950, 12; Mumford 1961, 49, 59; Redfield & Singer 1954, 56–57; Weber 1978, 1292). Research on ancient cities has long approached religion in this spiritual religious tradition. This dates back at least to Coulanges (1980) and Weber (1958) (also

Kluckhohn 1960). In this understanding, religious moral precepts are enacted through shared spiritual perceptions of piety and virtue, with the god-fearing human being worshipping God. The approach may be lowly pluralistic but moral order is established in this way, and this facilitates institutional organization and governance of the city. It reflects a behavioral and kinship-oriented understanding of religion, spiritual community and institutional ordering.

Complementary to this view, the modern city has been said to reflect social order that conflicts with religion — presumably spiritual religion. Further ideas to characterize the modern city are large size or being metropolitan (Breese 1966, 50; Childe 1950, 4; Davis 1969, 8–11; Gallion & Eisner 1975, 43, 215–216); the city as manufacturing center with industrial work patterns and extensive trade relationships outside the city (Breese 1966, 46, 50; Davis 1969, 8; Gallion & Eisner 1975, 43, 72–73; Parker 2011, 15); the economically ordered, commercial city that creates economic growth and mirrors economic policy and economic regulation, reflecting the coming of the market economy (Gallion & Eisner 1975, 88–89; Liverani 1997, 86, 95; Weber 1958, 73–74; Weber 1978, 1295–1296, 1328–1330); the city entertaining democratic government and "citizenship" (Weber 1958, 104–112, 159–159; Weber 1978, 1311, 1335; also Lyttkens, 2006); and the city of technical and bureaucratic order (Breese 1966, 49; Kluckhohn 1960, 402; Redfield & Singer 1954, 56–57; Weber 1958, 102–103).

Frequently such differentiating typologies of the premodern city versus the modern city take it for granted that the ancient city of 3000–4000 years ago could only be premodern, spiritually religious and economically unproductive; and that only the western city from the late Middle Ages onwards mirrors the modern city, with spiritual religion backgrounding or now conflicting with culture; economic growth being fostered; and capitalism emerging. This understanding defines the premodern city versus the modern one by exclusively framing religion as spiritual religion and then relegating spiritual religion to the premodern city. The premodern city is then *the* religious city. Weber or Marx or similarly Kluckhohn are leading advocates, especially so with a view to the defining presence of spiritual religion for the ancient city, as they see it, and as they split religion from the modern city (Kluckhohn 1960; Liverani 1997, 95, 106; Weber 1958). They then claimed the demise of religion (Liverani 1997, 86, 95) — supposedly spiritual religion, I would add, when they see the modern city rise; and the Enlightenment agrees with them on the latter point. In their understanding, the modern city developed only alongside the claimed

coming of the market economy and capitalism in 17th and 18th century Europe, connected to factors such as enormous economic surpluses being created by cities then. The current paper here aligns itself with a critical view on the Weber thesis and suggestions on religious ethics driving the development of capitalism in 17th- and 18th-century Europe. I circle the Weber thesis by tracing capitalist rational ethics of religion already in ancient times (WAGNER-TSUKAMOTO 2012). The current paper contributes to this debate by associating rational religion with the cities of Genesis.

The current paper backgrounds definitional, trait-based and typological approaches that foreclose the modern from the ancient and that only approach religion as spiritual religion. I agree with literature that attests that there is no correct way of conclusively defining the ancient city (CHILDE 1950, 3; DEVER 1997; MAY & STEINERT 2014, 4–5; RODDY 2008, 12; SMITH 2011). Rather, the paper acknowledges that framing the idea of the ancient city is an ideological enterprise from the outset that needs to make explicit ". . . what ideologies inform the concept of the city" (GEORGE 1997, 125; also KNOX 1995, 4) and that the city as a concept reflects and ". . . generates discourses and beliefs" (KNOX 1995, 4; normatively on this issue, MARCUS & SABLOFF 2008, 12–14; MAY & STEINERT 2014, 5). The paper negotiates this discursive enterprise as a matter of chosen research approach and research questions. It generates discourse by leaving open at the outset what the city institutionally reflects, in religious and economic terms and how such openness can inform research on the premodern versus the modern.

In addition to tracing spiritual religion, the paper searches for "rational religion" when studying the cities of Genesis. Already Adam Smith set out economics as alternative ethics to behavioral moral philosophies, including his own, earlier studies in moral behavioral, virtuous philosophy (SMITH 1966; also WAGNER-TSUKAMOTO 2013b). In this understanding, Smith's economics is ethics that is developed through a mutual gains program. The ethical normative societal aspiration is the "wealth of nations". Yet, this program is ethics with a difference as compared to traditional ethics, including spiritual religion. The way Smith ethically argued for economics, in a mutual gains tradition, reflects this. Importantly, his specific call for "rational religion" (SMITH 1976, 789–793) implies this too. As fascinating as Smith's call for rational religion is, it remained under-explored in his studies. He did not substantively, conceptually develop it and connect it with his economic program of a mutual gains ethics (WAGNER-TSUKAMOTO 2014a; 2014b). Especially significant for the current paper is that Smith explicitly argued for the splitting of rational religion from the Bible

(Smith 1976, 789–793; Minowitz 1993). In this respect, equally fascinating is the position of philosophers of the Enlightenment like Rousseau or Kant (as reviewed by Kippenberg & Stuckrad 2003, 24–28; Stuckrad 2013, 9) and their versions of rational religion as "religion civile" or "Vernunftreligion": Not dissimilar to Smith, they aimed to split rational religion from the Bible, from traditional religion, from Antiquity, and in its substance from economics. Here my critique is that Smith's own economics and the institutional economic ideas and the mutual gains aspirations it reflects can be reconstructed for the biblical text. In this way, the idea of rational religion is substantively and conceptually established for the biblical text and for biblical religion. An important point to remember here is that the biblical text is not any text: It reflects in my understanding religious text and conveys religious significance. Therefore, when reconstructing economics as ethics for the biblical text, we arrive at a concept of religion: as "rational religion", as I approach this; and not merely a textually traced concept of economics (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2014a; 2014b; 2018).

Specific questions of the current paper are then in what regard can we align Smith's economics with the narration of urban development in Genesis? Can we see a rationally religious city emerge? Here, the paper raises fundamental questions regarding the economized nature of religion, pointing at the idea of rational religion in the biblical text. The paper searches for economic institutions and cost and gains effects that are visible in the text (the next section has more detail). Assuming this project of economic reconstruction is successful, a different concept of religion is then implied for Genesis as compared to spiritual religion. This contests conventional or exclusive understandings of biblical religion as spiritual religion. Consequently, the strict separation of (biblical) religion and economics may no longer be sustainable, and such separation was implied not only by the sociology of religion (e.g. Weber; Marx), by research on the ancient city (Adams; Kraeling; Kluckhohn) but also by economists, when they addressed questions of religion, moral precepts, and behavioral ethics in general. For instance, as already noted, Smith claimed that rational religion by necessity needed to be independent of the Bible, Smith (1976, 789–793) viewing rational religion as a scientific replacement of biblical religion (Minowitz 1993); Keynes (1972, 330) split religion from economics, arguing for a future "return to some of the most sure and certain principles of religion and traditional virtue"; similarly North (1981, 47; 1991, 111); Buchanan merely saw one approach to moral precept, which he split from economics (Buchanan 1975, 117); and Williamson (1985, 44; also 2000, 596) noticed his failure to integrate a concept of dignitarian, vir-

tuous values into institutional economics. In contrast, the current paper concedes that rational religion and the economic concept which it reflects become normative and guide religious practice through (and "outside") the text. This understanding aligns itself in selective regards with empirically informed sociological and economic research on contemporary society (Berlinerblau 2005; Iannaccone 1994 and 1998; Inglehart & Baker 2000; McCleary & Barro 2006): that religious values are not necessarily absent or no longer influential in contemporary modern society; that modern society is not necessarily secularized. However, I develop this critique with a view to tracing religion as rational religion; and in my case, already for Antiquity and for the biblical text when the ancient cities are depicted in Genesis.

Solving the Institutional Problem: Economic Considerations

Religious studies like economic studies agree that city reflects an institutional "political unit held together by common rule" (Jacobsen 1960, 63). In this sense, city, as any type of polity, including state and nation, can be interpreted as a solution to the institutional problem of (self-)destructive anarchy, the "war of all" in Hobbes's terms or the "natural distribution state", as Buchanan (1975) referred to this scenario. A perceived need for common rule reflects that the Hobbesian "war of all" is a possibility. In the Hobbesian state of nature, interacting parties contest property claims of others through predation and attack. Here, Mumford (1961) explicitly rejected Hobbes's "bellicose primitive man" and apparently with this the idea of the natural state or war of all. But then he historically dates the natural state for the ancient Near East as the process when "war became fully established and institutionalized" — *and* cities first emerged, as he admitted (Mumford 1961, 24; also p. 46, 50–54). From here, relevance arises to think about city, either textual or real, as an institutional solution to the problems posed by the war of all.

In contrast to Mumford, Buchanan builds his institutional economics by explicitly engaging the Hobbesian idea of the war of all. He argues: "When conflict [the war of all] does emerge . . . anarchy in its pure form fails, and the value of order suggests either some social contract, some system of formal law, *or* some generally accepted set of ethical-moral precepts" (Buchanan 1975, 117, emphasis as in original). Buchanan's concession is that institutional ordering of some sort — either through social contract economics or through the moral precepts approach — is needed to resolve the problems posed by the war of all (for a review of this approach,

see Luetge, Armbrüster & Müller 2016). Interestingly, Buchanan strictly separates economics from religious approach — "*the* moral precepts approach" as he refers to it at this point. He only entertains a singular understanding of religious moral precepts and he is skeptical regarding moral precepts as an institutional ordering mechanism, seemingly especially so for modern contexts (Buchanan 1975, 117; similarly skeptical Sánchez 2000). Instead, he favors economics that follows institutional economic lines to analyze and resolve problems posed by the war of all. This mirrors comparable attempts in the sociological literature or views of the Enlightenment when equating religion with spiritual religion, and consequently relegating religion to the premodern city (as spiritual religion). Later, the paper critically comments in more detail on Buchannan's splitting of the moral precepts approach from institutional economics. However, what Buchanan, not dissimilar to Marx or Weber, seemed to have in mind when referring to the moral precepts approach was one specific approach to moral precept only, which indeed can be conceptually split from institutional economics. In the context of the current paper, I specify this as spiritual religion. Buchanan seemingly refers to this as "*the* moral precepts approach". Nevertheless, rational religion can also be understood as a moral precepts approach: as an ethical approach that can be seen to normatively guide religious practice and that works through the biblical text, *and* indeed reflects institutional economic concept. Significantly, rational religion as a concept may well be compatible with Smith's or Buchanan's economics and ideas of organizational economic schemes that mirror incentive structures, property rights regimes, and other economic institutions for steering social interactions towards mutual gains outcomes (the "wealth of nations").

Here, the paper analyzes the economic ordering potency of spiritual religion versus rational religion, comparing the cost and gain effects of behavioral institutions with those of economic institutions. Behavioural socio-economics analyzes institutional governance (or "common rule") but focuses on the individual's belief, motivation, values, attitudes, intentions, etc.; on group concepts of kinship; and so on *and* how these affect the efficiency of institutional governance (Etzioni 1988; Hill 2001; Hodgson 1998; Simon 1993). The thesis can be put forward that for certain contexts spiritual religion and the behavioural institutions it reflects resolve more efficiently the institutional problem of the potential "war of all" than non-behavioral institutional economics. Behavioral institutions like shared spiritual religious values, beliefs and so on can have superior cost and gains effects, as compared to non-behavioral institutional econom-

ics. In contrast, non-behavioral institutional economics, in the tradition of Buchanan, North, Ostrom or Williamson, analyzes economic institutions, like schemes of law, constitutions, organizational hierarchy, property rights regimes, tax system, contract etc. *and* how these exert cost and gains effects. Here, the lowering of costs and an increase in gains (i.e. mutual gains, wealth, growth) drive and ethically legitimize institutional governance, too (Buchanan 1975; North & Weingast 1989; Ostrom 1990; Williamson 1975; 1985; 2000). In the context of the current paper, we can ask how this approach revamps sociological analyses of the modern city: Is an ancient city imaginable, contrary to sociological expectations like Weber's (1958) or Childe's (1950) that moves outside premodern behavioral-economic order and reflects productive cities, growth, wealth and gains in an institutional economic tradition?

For both behavioral socio-economics and non-behavioral institutional economics, cost and gains effects are assessed for the group, the city dwellers, since they have to shoulder the costs of institutional ordering and they reap the benefits of institutional ordering. An underlying assumption is that the city inhabitants aim to reduce costs and increase the gains (growth; wealth) that result from institutional governance (the *homo economicus* assumption; Wagner-Tsukamoto 2014a; 2013c). Simply expressed, the city inhabitants want to be better off. This consideration of cost and gains effects for solving the institutional problem shifts merely religious or otherwise ethical assessments of the institutional problem into the economic realm.

As acknowledged, neither behavioral socio-economics nor non-behavioral institutional economics can always outperform the other. Rather, intervening factors need to be studied that affect the cost and gains yielded by institutional ordering of either approach. In the following, it is critically debated how factors changed and how this affected the economic viability of ordering the city through spiritual religion versus rational religion. Here, the paper does not aim to connect economic gains effects (i.e. growth) with a causal role of context factors; "size" is exemplary. Rather than interpreting size as a causal driver of economic growth and gains, it may just reflect economic growth in itself (North & Thomas 1973). Only in a classificatory sense may the idea of size be useful to distinguish the premodern city from the modern one. This adds clarifications to how the current paper plans to engage typological and trait-based approaches for differentiating the premodern and modern city, as the paper initially picked these up.

The paper then traced the theses that spiritual religion was economically superior in some of the earlier stories of Genesis with a behavioural

Biblical Economics / Biblical religion	Behavioral institutional socio-economics	Non-behavioral institutional economics
Spiritual biblical religion (moral precepts approach-type I)		
Rational biblical religion (moral precepts approach-type II)		

Figure 1. Tracing the city in Genesis

socio-economics being visible. However, in later stories, rational religion and the non-behavioral economic institutions it reflects began to outperform — on cost and gains grounds — the predominantly behavioral institutional structures of spiritual religion, which were discernable for the early city of Genesis. In this vein, the paper discusses how far Genesis entertains dual conceptions of city, religion and economics, and how we see modern pluralistic cities emerge in the course of Genesis. Figure 1 prepares the study of such moves; how changes to biblical religion interrelate with changes to biblical economics.

The framework distinguishes competing concepts of religion (spiritual religion versus rational religion); and alternative concepts of economics (behavioural socio-economics versus non-behavioural institutional economics), as outlined. With this map, the paper traces changes in religious concept and changes in economic concept, when we see cities come and go in Genesis. The overarching question is how did the religious culture pattern and religious thought change in Genesis (Kraeling; Adams), from spiritual religion to rational religion, as I would specify this? Did

such changes to religion interrelate with economic changes? The paper re-approaches any changes to "political institutions" (ADAMS) and "ecological factors" (KRAELING) with a view to different cost and gains that behavioral socio-economics versus non-behavioral institutional economics yield for the governance of the city. I discuss whether spiritual religion and a behavioral socio-economics are ultimately backgrounded by rational religion and non-behavioral institutional economics. Can we textually reconstruct the ancient cities of Genesis through a theory of urban development that moves in this sense from the premodern to the modern? What do the premodern versus the modern precisely stand for here? Does this investigation modify our understanding of institutional economics (e.g. Buchanan's) and even have implications for our comprehension of the historical development of capitalism?

III. The Rise of the Premodern City in Genesis: Spiritual Religion, Anti-pluralism, and Behavioral Socio-economics

Subsequently, the stories of Enoch, Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, Bethel, Beersheba, Hebron and Shechem are reviewed along the chronological storyline of Genesis. I evaluate context factors and economic considerations in order to shed light on the question as to how and why spiritual religion could at times solve institutional problems of city organization, apparently efficiently (Bethel, Hebron, Beersheba), but at other times failed altogether (Enoch, Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, Shechem).

Cain and Noah: Enoch

Issues of settlement became an instant issue after the Paradise story. Sheep herding and agriculture are raised as topics in Genesis (4: 2): Abel keeping "flocks" and Cain "working the soil". Genesis (4: 17) then for the first time invokes the idea of the "city", which Cain builds, and names after his son Enoch. This early reference to the city is associated with semi-nomadic, rural, pre-settlement modes of social interaction rather than city dwelling in the spatial context of physical structures such as houses: Genesis (4: 20) speaks of "those who live in tents" when it invokes the "city" (see also Gen. 4: 12). Yet, the city begins to emerge.

Genesis (6) discusses a large increase in the population. The lengthy genealogies of Genesis (5) reflect this too. "Wickedness", "corruption" and

"violence" are explicitly raised as social problems (Gen. 6: 5, 11–12). The idea of the city is not mentioned at this point — Genesis (6) speaks of all "earth" — but the earlier reference to the city of Enoch, which Cain had built, together with Cain's curse from God and rapidly increasing population size illustrate why Cain's cities (Enoch) experience wickedness, corruption and violence. Personal character dispositions of the patriarchal son (Cain) and the social problems of the city of Enoch interrelate. The image of an anarchic, lawless city (society) looms. It is apparent that already in the immediate aftermath of the Paradise story, the city is challenged regarding its status as a virtuous, pious religious center. In this sense, modernity looms; moral disagreement and even value decay are a possibility. It is revealing in this regard that the counterparts of wicked Cain (and Enoch), who were Adam, Abel and Seth and who were portrayed as spiritual religious figures at this point, chose to stay away from Enoch and associate with rather different cities.

The Great Flood destroyed Cain's cities (Enoch). Only the descendants of Seth survived, through Noah. Noah is one of the truly pious, virtuous figures of the Old Testament embodying spiritual religion. As for the Cain stories, for Noah too, a rural, semi-nomadic, pre-settlement type of societal organization is implied: Genesis (9: 20) characterized Noah as a "man of the soil" who lived in "tents" (Gen. 9: 21; see also Genesis 10: 9 on the "mighty hunter"). Nevertheless, qualifications apply: "nations", "clans", "territories" and "kingdom" are referred to for Noah's sons, and Genesis (10: 10–12, 19) explicitly mentions "cities".

In Genesis (10: 19), Sodom and Gomorrah make their appearance as Ham's cities. With Ham having physically violated his father Noah in Genesis (9: 22, 24), it is almost to be expected that Sodom and Gomorrah later (see below) evoke some of the most powerful images for wicked cities; cities where moral disagreement was high and spiritual moral order seemingly was challenged and in doing so, as with the cities of Cain (Enoch), attracted God's wrath again.

The story of the city of Babel, founded by Ham's descendants, retells threats to virtuous, pious order. It invokes settlement in relation to brick making, the use of mortar and a large number of people, who live in the city (Gen. 11: 2–4): The image of building a huge tower is drawn upon. The ambition of the people was: "Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens" (Genesis 11: 4). This ambition that threatened God, however, is thwarted: God imposes diversity in languages. The resulting inability to understand each other undermines human efforts towards city building.
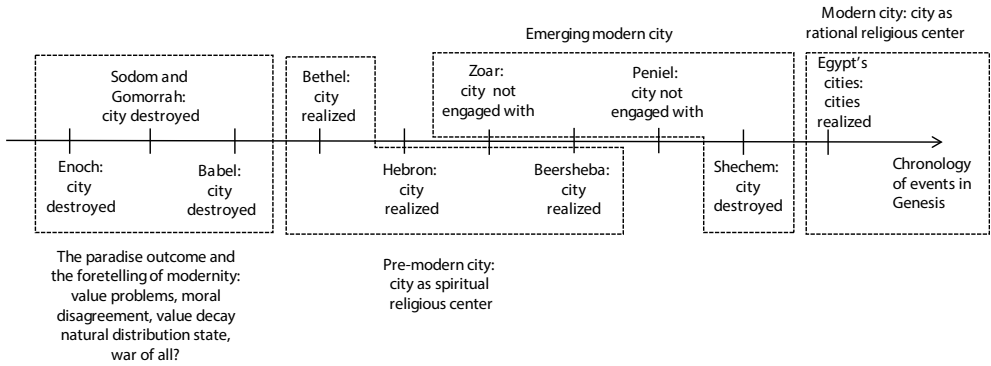
Figure 2. Textual chronology of city appearances in Genesis.

Thus, in the aftermath of the Paradise story, moral disagreement and value conflict are a huge topic for the early cities of Genesis, such as Enoch, Babel, and Sodom and Gomorrah. In a sense, the problem of the modern city here reflects the starting point of Genesis, after the paradise events (See Figure 2). However, the solutions to these problems in the early stories of Genesis were destructive, and moral disagreement was not mastered as an interaction condition. If one can talk of institutional "solutions" at this point at all, the outcome mirrored the war of all.

Abraham: Bethel, Hebron, Sodom and Gomorrah, Zoar, Beersheba

In the stories of Abraham, the lifestyle seemingly continues to be semi-nomadic, Abraham camping near the city of Bethel. There he enters the covenant with God (Gen. 12: 2–3, 7–8; 13: 7, 12, 18) and at Bethel, Abraham erects an altar: to honor his belief and reverence to God. The small cities of Bethel and similarly Hebron (Gen. 13: 18; 23: 2; 23: 19; see also "Mamre", Gen. 18: 1–2, 6–7, 9–10) symbolize a spiritual religious contract, which was monotheistic too. That Abraham stays at this point outside Bethel should not be interpreted as the rejection of even the small city or the choice of a rural, nomadic lifestyle. In Old Testament understanding, political power for governing the city was spatially not located inside or at the center of cities but at the boundary of the city space. Councils of elders held office for governing the city in this boundary space of the city, at the city gates (Biwul 2016, 37–47; Greenspoon 2008, 51; Stone 1999, 214–216). In the stories of Bethel and Hebron, and later Beersheba too, it is this boundary space that the patriarchs contest when erecting altars for

God. Spiritual religion can be seen as conscious competition for political governance of the city.

When Lot decides to leave for the fertile land of the Jordan valley, the "wicked" and "sinning" city of Sodom looms large (Gen. 13: 13). Abraham avoids Sodom (in Gen. 13 and 14) and rejects any gifts from the King of Sodom (Gen. 14: 23). Figuratively and spatially, Abraham remains near Bethel, staying away from Sodom and from patriarchal descendants like Ham that are associated with Sodom and who had had earlier confrontations with the spiritual religious patriarch (Noah). For Sodom, as for Babel, living in houses is discussed (Gen. 19: 3–4, 10). Positively evaluated, the city of Sodom reflects value diversity and liberty (e.g. Davidson 1979, 73), but more conventionally and negatively assessed (Kugel 1997, 185–189; Westermann 1986, 297–299), abuse, rape and sexual assault are suggested (Gen. 19: 5–8). Lot is thrown into this urban culture; yet, he is not captivated by it: He remains an "alien" in Sodom (Gen. 19: 9). In this respect, the idea of the city is explicitly infused with value diversity (which can be both negatively and positively evaluated) but importantly, is not projected on Lot, the "alien". Lot's life and the lives of those who were in his family are spared for this reason, when Sodom is eradicated by God (Gen. 19: 15). Connecting to this train of thought, Genesis (19: 29) makes clear that it was the spiritual religious dispositions of Abraham and the kind of city he chose to stay with that helped Lot to escape from Sodom: "[W]hen God destroyed the cities of the plain, he remembered Abraham, and he brought out Lot of the catastrophe" (Gen. 19: 29). Therefore, through the figure of Abraham, we also find the city of Bethel being positioned as an opposite to Sodom.

Genesis further plays on the idea of rejecting Sodom by letting Lot and his family escape to the small city of Zoar (Gen. 19: 20, 22). Zoar is positioned in this way as an opposite to Sodom. Like Bethel it is small and problems of moral disagreement, value diversity and moral decay seem to be less of an issue. In this way, Genesis explicates city size as a source of pluralism.

In the aftermath of Sodom and Gomorrah, another city reaffirms the pious, virtuous religious contract of Bethel: At Beersheba (Gen. 21: 14, 22, 31–32), contracting (between Abraham and Abimelech) remains grounded in a pious, virtuous moral frame of social ordering, when ". . . Abraham planted a tamarisk tree in Beersheba, and there he called upon the name of the Lord, the Eternal God" (Gen. 21: 33).

Isaac: Hebron, Beersheba

For Isaac, tent dwelling and cattle breeding continues, though crop plant-ing appears (Gen. 26: 12, 25). The patriarch gradually moved away from a semi-nomadic lifestyle but the setting remains rural and associated with the city as a pious, virtuous center. As Abraham had built an altar outside Bethel to honor his covenant with God, so did Isaac erect an altar out-side Beersheba, in the politically significant boundary space of the city; Mamre (Hebron) is referred to as well (Gen. 25: 9; 26: 23, 25, 28, 31, 33). Genesis (25: 9; 26: 23–25) makes explicit cross-references between Isaac's and Abraham's pious, God-revering behavior. Bethel, Hebron and Beer-sheba are symbolically drawn closer as places of spiritual religious worship and as cities of a monotheistic, moral order. This kind of a moral precepts approach then infuses the city concept in a spiritual religious tradition.

Jacob: Bethel, Peniel, Shechem, Hebron

Although Jacob acquires the blessing from Isaac by deceiving him, no major break in continuity in the patriarchal tradition results at this point. Indeed, a spiritual religious covenant between Jacob and God is affirmed (Gen. 28: 12–13), explicitly invoking Abraham and Isaac; and spatially, this place is re-discovered as the city of Bethel: "'Surely the Lord is in this place . . . This is none other than the house of God; this is the gate of heaven' . . . He [Jacob] called that place Bethel" (Gen. 28: 16–19). As with Abraham and Isaac, Jacob physically locates outside the city of Bethel, again at its gates, creating an altar there.

   An attitude of compensations, rewards, of taking-and-giving, of "tit-for-tat" is a new and regular feature throughout the Jacob stories (Wag-ner-Tsukamoto 2009; 2013c). It indicates that the patriarch is being economized in his interactions. This transforms not only the human coun-terparts of Jacob (Esau, Isaac, Laban), who were disadvantaged and sub-sequently compensated by Jacob, but also God (Gen. 28: 22). It changes the God-human relationship: Jacob promises a reward to God ("a tenth" of everything that God gave Jacob; Gen. 28: 22). This change in the patriarch-God relationship is highlighted in the fight between Jacob and God, when God is being pinned by Jacob. Jacob then demands terms in exchange for releasing God: the blessing from God (Gen. 32: 26). A break in the patriarchal tradition can be observed as to how the blessing is con-veyed — Noah, Abraham, and Isaac being gifted by God with the blessing. In contrast, Jacob's forced approach would have been unthinkable in the

earlier stories. Peniel appears (Gen. 32: 30), potentially symbolizing a move away, at least at this point of storytelling, from virtuous, pious Bethel. In a rather economized manner, Jacob then purchases a plot of land from the Shechemites — in order to erect an altar for God (Gen. 33: 18–20). The city of Shechem receives its first mention, Jacob camping "within sight of the city" of Shechem (Gen. 33: 18), apparently again approaching the boundary space of the city.

A different vision of a contract between God and humans, and among humans appears to become feasible when, in Genesis (34), the Israelites encounter the Hivites. A "love-hate" story (Wolde 2003) between Dinah, Jacob's daughter, and Shechem, the son of the ruler of the city of Shechem, develops: Shechem asks Jacob for permission to marry her (Gen. 34: 4, 8, 12), offering an unconditional bride price (Gen. 34: 12). However, the price Jacob's sons exact reinforces spiritual order but also masks deceit: The circumcision of all male Shechemites is requested (Gen. 34: 13–17). The price in itself asserts spiritual religious monotheism, enforcing conversion to the religion of Israel. And the price stated has deceit in mind (Gen. 34: 13): It is posed as a trick to physically weaken the Shechemites. Once the male Shechemites are circumcised, Jacob's sons, Simeon and Levi, attack the city of Shechem and kill all the male inhabitants, plundering and enslaving the rest of the city (Gen. 34: 25–29).

Ideologies of cities clash at this point and the spiritual religious city wins (Genesis 35): God asks Jacob to return from Shechem to Bethel and (re-) build an altar there. The city of Bethel and the spiritual order it has come to symbolize are thus positioned deliberately as opposites to the city of Shechem and the potentially pluralistic way of life it could have heralded — had the marriage between Dinah and Shechem succeeded. Genesis (35: 2–4) explicates the final departure from this vision:

> So Jacob said to his household and to all who were with him, "Get rid of the foreign gods you have with you, and purify yourselves and change your clothes. Then come, let us go up to Bethel, where I build an altar to God . . ." so they gave up all the foreign gods they had and the rings in their ears, and Jacob buried them under the oak at Shechem.

The section is remarkable in a number of respects. Jacob, as patriarch, de facto approves the behavior of his sons Simeon and Levi; Bethel resurfaces again as one of Genesis' most potent images of the spiritual religious city with comparatively anti-pluralistic connotations; and literally and metaphorically, religious pluralism is "buried under the oak at Shechem". There-
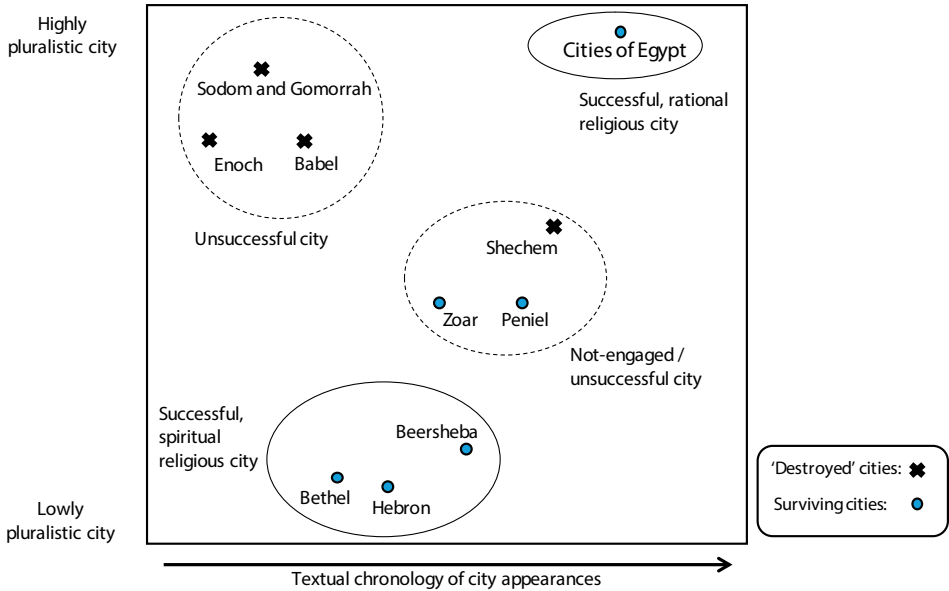
Figure 3. Emergence of the pluralistic city in Genesis.

fore, in the conclusion of the story, "Shechem turns out to be the opposite of Bethel" (WOLDE 2003, 445). We can draw on Pinder (2005, 8) or Timms (1985, 7) and extrapolate to Shechem their discussion of cities that symbolize urban dilemmas, like the coming of religious pluralism versus ethnic cleansing.

So, the stories of Jacob initially offer re-orientations regarding the loosening of the spiritual religious dispositions of the patriarch, especially so through the economizing of Jacob in his interactions with his counterparts, through Jacob challenging God and also regarding the cities of Peniel and Shechem that emerge. A new, more pluralistic approach becomes possible. However, hope is brutally crushed at Shechem (in Gen. 34): In the end, Jacob goes full circle and is back where he started, at Bethel; and at Hebron (Gen. 35: 27). The spiritual religious approach to solving the institutional problem is reconfirmed, with the emerging pluralistic city being destroyed (see Figure 3).

The ultimate message of the Jacob stories is not a comforting one regarding the manifestation of pluralism. Eventually, it would only be through his son Joseph (as discussed below) that Jacob could successfully enter the city within pluralistic settings.

Economic Concepts of City Organization in the Early Genesis Stories

The possibility of value conflict and moral disagreement had dramatically arisen with the Paradise story and Enoch, Babel, and Sodom and Gomorrah had advanced it. However at this early point, this was not successfully handled. Wicked cities and how they associated with fallen patriarchal descendants like Cain, Enoch, or Ham were punished.

We then find pious, virtuous patriarchal figures in Genesis. Noah, Abraham, and Isaac were all quasi-holy, spiritual religious leaders, and largely non-economized characters. This is mirrored by the type of covenant God entered with them, and poignantly so by the city images we encounter, specifically Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba. They reflect lowly pluralistic (quasi-tribal, small-scale, rural) and traditional urban settings. These city settings can be interpreted as one or perhaps the "first" cost effective solutions to the institutional problem of urbanizing contexts. Through sharing pious, virtuous values, or what Buchanan restrictively terms "the" moral precepts approach (Buchanan 1975, 117), the "war of all" can be prevented — cost-effective that is, for the specific contexts of this type of city. Coulagnes (1980, 59) very early on hinted at this, coming from a historic perspective: "Religion, and not laws, first guaranteed property", whereby his reference to "religion" implies "spiritual religion" and the idea of law can be read with a view to economic institutions, as for example Buchanan's constitutional economics specified this.

City organization that connects to spiritual religion can also be suggested to be transaction cost-efficient under certain conditions: Transaction costs reflecting the costs of communication and coordinating social interaction. For the small, rural-type city, the use of informal face-to-face coordination, grounded in the spiritual religious covenant, can yield low transaction costs; as this vision of political economic governance is portrayed in Genesis for the early patriarchal tradition. Figure 4 identifies such superior attack/defense cost and transaction cost differentials for the early city in Genesis, as found for Noah, Abraham and Isaac in particular. For these urban contexts, an institutional economic approach that favored economic institutions such as tall hierarchies would be less transaction cost-efficient. Williamson's (1975; 1985; 2000) or North & Weingast's (1989) institutional economic research can be extrapolated in this respect with regard to textual, biblical contexts.
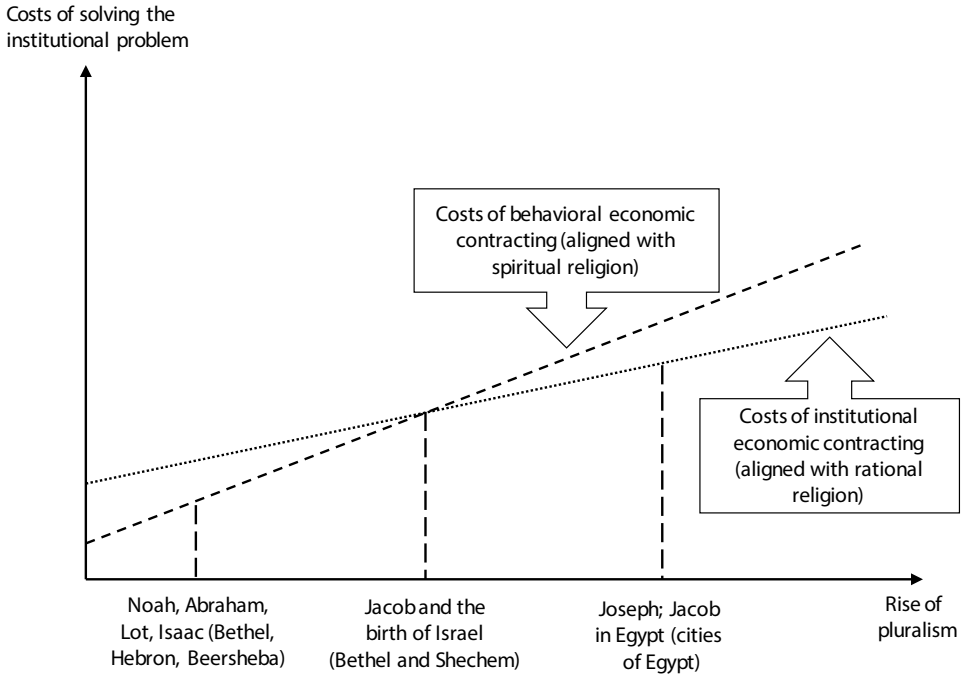
Costs of solving the
institutional problem

Costs of behavioral economic
contracting (aligned with
spiritual religion)

Costs of institutional
economic contracting
(aligned with rational
religion)

Rise of
pluralism

Noah, Abraham,
Lot, Isaac (Bethel,
Hebron, Beersheba)

Jacob and the
birth of Israel
(Bethel and Shechem)

Joseph; Jacob
in Egypt (cities
of Egypt)

Figure 4. The rise of pluralism and cost implications for contracting in Genesis.

In Jacob, the patriarch began to be economized: Jacob was anything but the quasi-holy, spiritual religious leader as portrayed by the early patriarchs. This was demonstrated in his interactions with Esau, Isaac and Laban; and ultimately by his fight with God, in which he forcefully extracted the blessing and a new covenant. The Jacob stories made it clear that the city, as a symbolic, personified representation of the patriarch, was undergoing challenges. Similar to the earlier stories of Enoch, Babel, and Sodom and Gomorrah, value problems were a big issue. However, unlike the earlier stories, Genesis now seemed to accept that the city was at least at a turning point (See Figure 4). Pluralism began to infiltrate inter-tribal encounters (between the Israelites and the Hivites) and social interactions themselves were increasingly economized, even the God-human relationship (in the interactions between Jacob and God). In the Joseph stories (as discussed below), the switch on institutional cost ground from spiritual religion and its connection to behavioral socio-economics to nonbehavioral institu-

tional economics and rational religion is complete: Figure 4 then provides a primer for an "ordinal ranking" scheme for costs of institutional ordering, as called for by North (1977, 715).

As much as the early patriarchal tradition, grounded in spiritual religion, may have been cost-efficient, critical questions remain as to whether the kind of small city portrayed could have stimulated a mutual gains program and economic growth. Indeed, we then only find here the small city. This in itself mirrors the lack of growth, and indirectly confirms the arguments of North & Thomas (1973). In particular, North's thesis is that changes to institutional economic structures, such as property rights regimes in ruler-subject relationships, stimulate growth and increases in size. Regarding the early patriarchal tradition, I would assume that North and similarly Buchanan, Ostrom or Williamson would be pessimistic regarding an economic mutual gains and growth program since institutional economic structures had not been sorted out the way they recommended this. For the contexts that were depicted at this point in Genesis, we may indeed encounter lowly profitable or even comparatively primitive zero-sum interactions, which see a program for mutual gains and economic growth being constrained.

IV. The Rise of the Modern City in Genesis: Rational Religion, Pluralism, and Non-Behavioral Institutional Economics

The stories of Joseph signal a reorientation regarding governance and how religion now differently comes into play. Initially, the city of Hebron is mentioned as the place from which Joseph departs; at the same time, Shechem is referred to as his first destiny to meet his brothers (Gen. 37: 12–14). With the connotations in mind, which these places had acquired in earlier stories, changes in social organization could be expected. The storyline then instantly intertwines with Egypt as Joseph's destiny, when Egyptian merchants are referred to, and to whom Joseph is sold as a slave by his brothers (Gen. 37: 25, 28, 36). Also interesting here is that, earlier on in Genesis, one of Ham's sons or "nations" had been named "Egypt" (Gen. 10: 6), and it had been Ham's cities, Sodom and Gomorrah, that had foretold of modern contexts.

In the following, the paper traces the city in the stories of Joseph, investigating whether Genesis favored a change in moral precepts approach, from spiritual religion to rational religion, and whether behavioral socio-

economics was increasingly replaced by non-behavioral institutional economics, and how ideas on modernity can be associated with such developments.

Egypt's Cities: Economic Institutions, Mutual Gains, Pluralism

When talking about Egypt, Genesis (41: 48) refers to "cities" in their plurality. By not invoking specific names, from the outset the idea of the city seems to imply larger-scale and predominantly anonymous social relationships. When the singular term "the city" is employed by Genesis (44: 4, 13), it likely references the pharaoh's capital city. Genesis then discusses a comparatively complex polity that organizes Egyptian cities. The paper analyzes this subsequently in institutional economic terms, with a view to bureaucratic hierarchy, promotion schemes, taxation system, property rights arrangements, the pharaoh's military apparatus, etc., as such ideas have been discussed by institutional economics (WAGNER-TSUKAMOTO 2009, 118–139; 2013a; 2015).

To specify these developments in more detail: First, the Egyptian society described is bureaucratically stratified. Highly differentiated occupational functions exist, such as palace guards, prison wardens, cup bearers, bakers, stewards, magicians, wise men, shepherds, priests, physicians, etc. (Gen. 39: 1, 20; 40: 2–3; 41: 8; 43: 19; 48–49; 47: 5–6, 22, 26; 50: 2). Furthermore, Genesis (39: 5) invokes agriculture and crop farming, house dwelling and the management of households (also Gen. 41: 48; 47: 20). Mumford (1961, 29–30, 102–105) might speak of the "urban mixture of occupations", which characterizes modern cities and which signals the progressing division of labor (also HANSEN 2008, 70).

Second, Egypt had a reward and promotion system in place: It was solely because of his skills (as interpreter of the pharaoh's dreams) that Joseph became the chief official of Egypt, who answered only to the pharaoh (Gen. 41: 39–44). This mirrors Weber's (1978, 223, 225) suggestions on how rational bureaucracy recruits organization members in terms of technical knowledge and technical competence. Such ideas of skills-based promotion in hierarchies can contest suggestions, such as Stone's (1999, 219) or Butzer's (2008, 81), that ancient Near Eastern cities did not seek hierarchical organization but favoured consensus-building. In other respects, we can question Weber (1958, 100): He claimed in historic perspective that in Antiquity an "Egyptian prince was the absolute master of the city". However, Joseph's promotion to the top of Egypt's hierarchy implied delegation of power. Genesis (47: 6) later re-affirms this de-personifying, skills-based

approach to promotion and delegation of power: After the Israelites' relocation to Egypt, the pharaoh invited them to look after his livestock — should they possess special shepherding skills (Gen. 47: 6). In return, the pharaoh offered the best land to the Israelites (Gen. 47: 6, 11, 27). This reflects the fact that foreigners were rewarded and promoted in Egypt's cities and that these cities were open regarding the influx of foreigners. Pluralism was then mastered as an interaction condition.

Third, Joseph set up a barter tax system for crop farming that saw 20 percent of crop harvests skimmed off and stored away by the Egyptian administration (Gen. 41: 34, 47–49). The remainder of harvests was the property of farmers. It was governance policy to release the barter-tax-crop back into the market during economic down-turns, in order to stimulate the economy. As Genesis makes clear, crop was sold through the market back to farmers. This can also indirectly support empirical-historical suggestions such as Silver's (1983, 800–801), who discounted Polanyi's argument on claimed non-market grain trade in Pharaonic Egypt and how North (1977) assessed Polanyi.

Fourth, Joseph set up a property rights reform for the organization of crop farming and livestock breeding (Gen. 47: 13–21): The original Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible speaks in this respect of "Joseph moving the people to the cities" (Gen. 47: 21) (Davidson 1979, 297–288; Rad 1963, 405; Wagner-Tsukamoto 2015, 43). A "move of people to the cities" directly links to rising urbanization, the commodification of agricultural labor and the better securing of agricultural and other economic surpluses through the coming of city farmers. Such commodification processes are doubted to be feasible by Dale (2013, 181) — for the historical-empirical realities of the ancient Near East. Textual counter-evidence from the Old Testament may raise certain questions here. Moreover, in the later Septuagint version of the Hebrew Bible, the same phrase of "Joseph moving the people to the cities" was rendered as "Joseph reduced the people to slaves". Obviously this conveys a different meaning than what the Hebrew text explicitly says about property rights arrangements; e.g. fruits from production (apart from the barter tax) remaining the property of farmers. Early on, Coulagnes (1980, 52–53) raised the important point on the historic roots of this type of property, which was separated from land ownership. Such arguments leave land ownership and the trading of land potentially to be insignificant for an economic understanding of ancient Near Eastern cities and societies, both textual and real ones. In this respect, comments can be re-assessed as made by Stone (1999, 206; 2008, 142–143) regarding the role of the "monopoly over arable land" in ancient Near Eastern cities.

In a similar vein, criticism such as Dale's (2013, 174) that Polanyi did not have a theory of trade in agricultural land may not be relevant. Or, some comments of Silver (1983, 807–808) against Polanyi may miss their target since private ownership in land in the ancient Near East may not have greatly mattered, at least not so at certain points in time.

Importantly, through the institutional economic reconstruction of bureaucratic hierarchy, promotion schemes, the delegation and tax systems, and property rights arrangements, etc., the Old Testament gets economized and in this sense modernized. Here, the paper questions historic economic research on urbanization and its claims that changes in modern urbanization, for example for the early and mid-twentieth century, are ". . . so recent that even the most urbanized countries still exhibit the rural origins of their institutions" (Davis 1969, 6; also Pinder 2005, 7–8). Textual evidence to the contrary is provided by the cities of the Joseph stories with their non-rural economic institutions (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2013a, 2015). From such textual counter-evidence, the question arises regarding the actual historic situation of the specific societies from which these stories emerged some 3000–4000 years ago. This has implications regarding the tracing of the history of capitalism (Also Goody 2006; Silver 1983, 825–829; Wagner-Tsukamoto 2014a).

The reconstruction of institutional economic concept from the biblical text implies that "economics as ethics" can be aligned with the text: The Old Testament can be seen as a differently religious text, mirroring modern institutional economics, typifying a different moral precepts approach. This economically textured concept of religion, which emerges from the biblical text, we can term "rational religion", to follow Smith (1976, 789–793). That we can still claim religion at all rests with the insight that the Old Testament text is foundational and instructive for religious practice; that the Bible reflects religious text (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2013a; 2014a; 2015).

Assertions can be challenged that the text conveys an understanding of religion as an exclusively private, spiritual religious matter and that in Antiquity religion did not exert influence on the political-economic sphere. I agree with Jacobsen (1960, 63) that any "city is held together by common rule" but would discount his claim:

> While groupings of individuals by common language, religion, custom and so forth undoubtedly existed [for ancient cities of Mesopotamia], such affinities do not seem . . . to have formed the basis for concerted action on the political scene. Rather these features existed as cultural

distinctions between individuals on a purely private level inside the political unit. (Jacobsen 1960, 64)

As outlined, for the Joseph stories, the paper traces a rationally religious approach that reflected modern ideas on institutional economic governance. In this respect, rational religion is not relegated to the private level. Rather, it exerts social and organizational economic normative influence through the text; and the paper added a cost rationale to this suggestion (Figure 4).

Interestingly, the political-economic is visible in Genesis not only for rational religion but also for spiritual religion. Already the early Genesis stories of Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba can be seen to have positioned, in degrees, spiritual religion as a political economic governance concept for the city; especially so when the early patriarchs as spiritual religious leaders erected altars in the city's political governance zone, at the "city gates" (see above).

For the stories of Joseph, we can then suggest that the pluralistic vision of Shechem was realized. There are a number of indicators for this. First, there are the departure points of the story: Joseph departs from Hebron and sets off from Shechem to Egypt (Genesis (37); or, in Genesis (46: 5), Jacob "left Beersheba" to migrate to Egypt. These departure points symbolize the spiritual religious city — which were left behind. Second, the patriarchal son and with him the descending nation differed from the earlier patriarchal tradition. Now the patriarchal tradition favored economic institutions for organizing interactions in the city. Third, the pharaoh respected Joseph's value system, acknowledging that Israel's God had revealed truth to Joseph (Gen. 41: 38–39). Joseph was not merely tolerated as a stranger in the pharaoh's religious world view, but the very nature of his religiously differing views received respect. Fourth, Joseph married the daughter of a high priest of Egypt (Gen. 41: 45). In various degrees, we find here the inter-cultural society with religious pluralism manifesting itself, rather than tolerance merely becoming the prevailing interaction condition (regarding the distinction of "tolerance" from "pluralism", see Hare 1982, 178; Sagi 2009, 11–13; Sternberg 2010). Equally, value problems and other behavioural threats to cooperation were relegated to the private level (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2009; 2010; 2014a). Examples are the betrayal of Joseph by his brothers (Gen. 37: 18–20, 26–28) or the attempt of Potiphar's wife to seduce Joseph (Gen. 39: 7–18). Indeed, such problems at the private level were in considerable degrees remedied through economic governance. For example, in the case of Potiphar's wife, Joseph recovered quickly (from

being wrongfully imprisoned) through the new occupational responsibilities he could acquire in the existing skills-based hierarchies and open promotion system of the prison, becoming the prison warden (Gen. 39: 21–23; Gen. 41: 9–14).

The suggestion that religious pluralism was absent in Genesis and Antiquity appears questionable now. The Enlightenment tends to stake this claim, when assessing the political-historical realities of the cities of the Middle Ages (e.g. as reviewed by Kippenberg & Stuckrad 2003, 24–28; Parker 2011, 24–25; Reventlow 1984, 411–414; 2001; Stuckrad 2013, 9) — also not examining Antiquity and biblical religion. It agrees with skepticism such as:

> The further back one shifts [historic] attention, the more similar appears the economic position of the temple in Antiquity to that of the [monotheistically dominating] church and especially of the monastery in the early Middle Ages. . . . However developments in Antiquity did not take a course similar to that of the Middle Ages, towards an increasing separation of state and church and mounting autonomy of the area of religious dominion. (Weber 1958, 194; similarly Weber 1976, 67; 1978, 1335)

Goody (2006) is here critical regarding a Eurocentric focus of western Enlightenment philosophy and I share into such criticism — with a view to interpretations derived from biblical economic research. In the stories of Joseph, "state" and polity, interpreted in institutional economic terms of structures for city organization, were separated from "church": The pharaoh left the economic ordering and running of Egypt's cities to Joseph and he did not interfere with the values and beliefs of the Israelites. The text conveys religious pluralism both inside the text, as to how Egyptian and Israelite religions co-existed, and outside the text, as to how normative messages follow on regarding religious practice, regarding the economizing of religion as rational religion and regarding the support of religious pluralism.

In the end, Joseph received the most favorable blessing from Jacob as the "fruitful vine of Israel" (Gen. 49: 22–26). Despite not being the first-born son, Joseph seemingly emerged as the patriarchal successor. Interestingly, at the point of the blessing (Gen. 49: 5–7), Jacob now openly distanced himself from Simeon and Levi (which has implications for later books of the Bible; Wagner-Tsukamoto 2009, 151, 158, 217, 231; 2012). Reasons for Jacob's deselection of Simeon and Levi can be linked to the events in the stories of Joseph, which in a sense healed the atrocities from Shechem.

In the end, Egypt mourned once Jacob died and accompanied and protected the Israelites on their journey to Jacob's homeland to bury him near Hebron (Gen. 50: 3, 13). Figuratively at least but in certain respects literally as well, the spiritual religious social contract, as symbolized by the cities of Hebron, Bethel and Beersheba, was here, with the burial of Jacob, laid to rest too. A rationally religious, quasi-modern, institutionally economic governed city prevails when Genesis concludes.

Cost and Gains Effects of Rational Religion in the Joseph Stories

In the early Genesis stories, the city portrayed spiritual religion and connected with socio-economic behavioural ordering. This mirrored successful institutional ordering at this point (Bethel, Hebron, Beersheba). However, economically, these cities were at best mildly successful: They remained small; division of labor was hardly visible; internationalization of trade was absent; etc. In contrast, in the Joseph stories we see the modern and large city develop with rational religion, institutional economic ordering, wealth and pluralism rising. We see a switch in a moral precepts approach from spiritual religion to rational religion (see Figure 4); accompanied by a switch in economic ordering. In these respects, Figure 5 relates economic wealth and growth for the cities of Genesis to questions of pluralism.
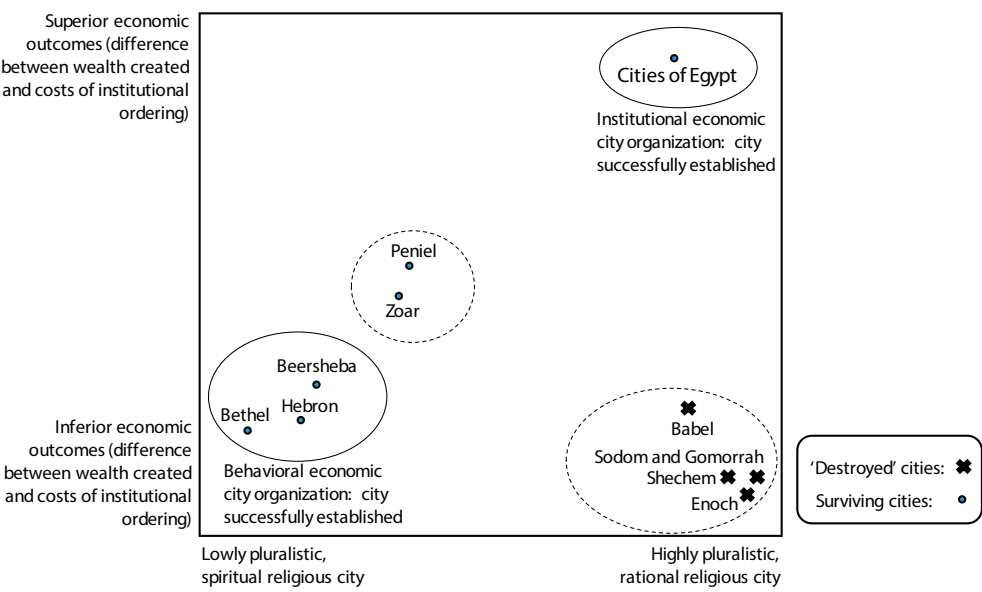

Figure 5. Religion and the economics of city organization.

Figure 5 reveals that the cities of Enoch, Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah, or Shechem were caught up in transitional phases, which had disastrous consequences for them. In a sense they tried to depart from Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba and the kind of spiritual religious and behavioral economic ordering these cities reflected, but they failed or were prevented from developing new religious and economic approaches. That changes in the Joseph stories became feasible is geographically reflected by locating these stories outside Israel's homeland and far away from the cities that Genesis had constructively engaged with earlier on. Egypt's cities were the opposite to a tribal, closed society; they were large-scale in the biblical context described in the Old Testament. There was a high ethnic mix, Egypt being an open society with a constant influx of foreigners. The text then portrays institutional economic structures as compared to the behavioral economic concepts of the earlier stories. As reviewed, we find bureaucratic hierarchy, specialization, promotion schemes, delegation systems, property rights arrangements, internationalization of trade, taxation systems, etc. Egypt's cities were clearly not "primate cities" in a developing country and neither could they be described as unproductive "parasitic cities" (Breese 1966, 48–49; also Davis 1969, 8; Kluckhohn 1960, 401–402). Rather, to use a phrase of Weber, in these cities "citizens as economic men" dominated: couched by economic institutions, as reviewed, and the kind of changes Joseph had introduced. Yet, this sheds critical light on Weber's suggestion that only "citizens as political men" ruled the ancient world and that organization structures and economic institutions of "the modern Western state" did not exist for ancient societies (Weber 1978, 223; also Weber 1976, 67). Here, Algaze (2008, 18–24) or Goody (2006) are critical of Weber (or Marx). Algaze specifically discounts claims for ancient Mesopotamia that wealth creation and capitalist behavior were absent. I agree with Algaze on this point but project to textual conceptual ideas and symbolic data aligned to the Old Testament, with a view to economic institutionalism and rational religion. A comparable argument like Algaze's is developed for the ancient Near East by Silver (1983): He critiques Polanyi and comparable arguments of North (1977), they arguing that price-making markets were absent in Antiquity. This issue of price-making markets is not central to my economic argument since the current paper draws on economic institutionalism. However, if an understanding of market trading is widened to institutions that organize market trading, I would line up with some of Silver's empirical comments that contest Polanyi and North. Concepts of economic institutionalism, as reconstructed for the biblical text and biblical religion, reveal economic system that organized exchange to a considerable degree.

The paper argues that the emergence of the new economic institutions in the Joseph stories can be projected to changes in costs and gains that came with this different way of organizing the city. Egypt's cities can be viewed as "generative, commercial cities" (see above) in an economically, comparatively highly developed society — because, according to my argument, they had established new economic institutions, i.e. bureaucratic order, hierarchical delegation, specialization of labor, taxation systems, and well-functioning property rights structures. A wealthy, highly productive and internationally cooperative society resulted. Substantial wealth and growth was created for its leaders but also throughout this society (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2009, 123–131; 2015, 41–45).

Only in the Joseph stories, could a substantial wealth creation emerge in Genesis. Buchanan's, North's, Ostrom's and Williamson's research would point out that economic institutions and changes to them are the sources for generating mutual gains, economic growth and rising societal wealth. Because of Joseph's economic policies, all of Egypt and even its neighboring countries benefitted: "There was famine in all the other lands, but in the whole land of Egypt there was food" (Genesis 41: 54). Indeed, ". . . all the countries came to Egypt to buy grain from Joseph" (Genesis 41: 57). In the end, Joseph in the wake of his successful governance could support the Israelites too: "I will give you the best of the land of Egypt and you can enjoy the fat of the land" (Genesis 45: 18); the Israelites then ". . . acquired property there and were fruitful and increased greatly in numbers" (Genesis 47: 27). Genesis then concludes with the vision of a "community of people" (Genesis 48: 4) and Jacob bestowing the highest blessing on Joseph as the "fruitful vine of Israel" (Genesis 49: 22–26).

The paper has spelled out that change in economic institutions drove such wealth creation, and this was inter-connected with change in the culture pattern. This gives new and added meaning to the concession that ". . . culture helps explain why some societies [their urban landscapes] grow (or not) at an accelerated rate as compared to their neighbors" (Algaze 2008, 6). The current paper here has singled out cultural changes from spiritual religion to rational religion as it can be traced in the biblical text and as these are connected with changes to economic ordering.

V. Conclusions

With the paradise setting having collapsed, Genesis turned to the city. Possibly surprisingly, the first cities of Genesis, Enoch, Babel, and Sodom

and Gomorrah, potentially symbolize modern settings, not least so because of the presence of moral disagreement, even corruption and wickedness, as numerous interpreters of Genesis put this. However, Genesis did not constructively engage with these cities. The opposite happened. The line of patriarchal descendants and their cities was repeatedly cleansed at this point in relation to moral disagreement (i.e. pluralism) or what Genesis called "wickedness" and "corruption". Cain's city (Enoch), Ham's cities (Sodom and Gomorrah), or the cities of Ham's descendants (Babel) are prime examples.

The early patriarchs, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, did stay away from Enoch, Sodom and Gomorrah, and Babel. Their spiritual religious leadership personified different cities, specifically Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba. These cities reflect a spiritual religious covenant that God closed with them. These early covenants and the kind of governance approach to the city it mirrored can be surmised to be efficient. In their own ways, Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba could resolve the institutional problem at low costs, when corruption and wickedness could arise (the problem of the war of all). The present paper has specified this capability with regard to low attack/defense costs and low transaction costs of premodern city organization, as they are matched by its specific interaction contexts. Clearly, even for this type of social contract, we can selectively raise economic concepts, reflecting a behavioral socio-economics, spiritual religion and their superior cost and gains effects at this point (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2009, 74–82) (see Figure 4), rather than an exclusively non-economic approach. In this way, we can re-interpret Mumford's (1961, 49) reference to the "religious potencies of the [premodern] city" in economic terms. Yet, a comparatively anti-pluralistic concept of religion manifested itself in the text, and the critical economic question is whether these cities could engage in a substantial growth and mutual gains program. A key indicator that they did not so here is that Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba remained small.

With the Jacob stories, the situation changed. Jacob moved away from the quasi-holy spiritual leadership approach of Noah, Abraham and Isaac. He got economized in his interactions with Esau, Isaac and Laban and in his fight with God. At the city of Shechem, the Jacob stories became entangled in a debate of inter-tribal relations. However, the outcome was a disaster: Religious pluralism was literally buried by Jacob "under the oak at Shechem" (Gen. 35: 4). Jacob remained caught up between premodern Bethel and modern Shechem, finally choosing Bethel.

The Joseph stories tell of the turning towards the modern, pluralistic city in Genesis, when Egypt's cities become the topic. Importantly, the

problem of organizing and ordering the city was then addressed through non-behavioral institutional economics, not dissimilar to the tradition of Buchanan, North, Ostrom or Williamson. Substantial mutual gains were assured as outcome and religious pluralism could be sustained for the cities of Egypt.

Like Jacob, Joseph reflected an economized figure; he rose to the top of Egypt's hierarchies because of his economic managerial skills; there was ethnic mixing within an open society; international trade was prolific; and the pharaoh fully respected his religion. We then find cities and social order that can be projected in institutional economic terms to modernization — but not necessarily to a rejection of religion or 'secularization'. Secularization is similarly contested, but with a view to modern contemporary society, by Reventlow (1984, 411), Iannaccone (1994, 738, 743; 1998, 1466), Inglehart & Baker (2000); Berlinerblau (2005), McCleary & Barro (2006) or Stuckrad (2013, 2). The current paper here set out an answer to what comes after secularization already so for ancient times, when connecting to the Bible, economics, and rational religion.

Can we then question Weber, as he claimed in *Ancient Judaism*, that it was only in the Book of Joshua that the concept of the city came into full bloom in the Old Testament:

> These shifts are indicative of deep-going transitions in political organization as well as military structure. In the historical tradition, the single Israelite tribe is to be found in all stages of transition from quasi-Bedouinism to quasi-nomadic small-stock-breeding and from both through the intermediary stage of occasional agriculture . . . to urbanization as ruling sibs, as well as to settled agriculture as free and corvée-rendering peasants. The almost universal transition to urbanism appears complete in the political geography of Palestine as given in the Book of Joshua. (Weber 1952, 42–43)

Here the paper has probed Weber on two accounts: that it was merely in the Book of Joshua that the city came to be fully realized in the Old Testament; and that the ancient cities of the Bible were necessarily premodern. Already for Genesis, the paper has argued for a theory of modern urban development: Spiritual religion and a behavioral socio-economics can be seen to be contested by rational religion and a non-behavioral institutional economics, with pluralism emerging in the course of this contest, exemplarily so in the Joseph stories.

On these grounds, the paper has pointed at a theory of rational economic religion emerging in the biblical text and in Antiquity. Rational religion reflects a different moral precepts approach as compared to spiritual religion, which the paper found for the early patriarchal tradition. It mirrors economics as ethics in the modern Smithsonian tradition of the *Wealth of Nations* (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2014a; 2014b; 2018). This generally contests the proposal that ". . . cultural and ethical dispositions [of ancient Near Eastern societies] . . . were quite unlike those that prevail in market societies . . . and that a societal ethic of individual gain-seeking . . . and wealth accumulation . . ." was absent then (Dale 2013, 176; similarly Finley 1994; 1999; for further references, see Wagner-Tsukamoto 2014a).

Indeed, the economized concept of rational religion facilitated religious pluralism and the co-existence of different concepts of spiritual religion, exemplarily so in the Joseph stories. In different ways and degrees, this alliance of economics with rational religion, with the Bible, and with Antiquity was thought to be impossible by sociologist, economists, and philosophers alike; economists include Smith, Keynes, Buchanan, North, or Williamson to name but a few (see above); as did sociologists like Weber or Marx approach religion only as spiritual religion; or the Enlightenment conceptualized its brand of rational religion irrespective of biblical religion, ancient world, and economics (as reviewed by Kippenberg & Stuckrad 2003; Reventlow 1984, 2001; Stuckrad 2013).

Figure 1 initially set out the conceptual map for the religious and economic analysis of the cities of Genesis: regarding the increasing economization of social contract and religion; modern urbanization; and the emergence of pluralism. Figure 6 reconnects to Figure 1, summarizing patterns and interrelationships amongst religion, economics, modernity and pluralism.

Figure 6 sets out a theory framework on biblical religion and biblical economics that is supported by data: i.e. the textual data of Genesis. In this respect, the framework can address concerns that comparatively abstract theory on urban development, as it is also reflected by Figure 6, ". . . cannot logically get down to observation" (Smith 2011, 168). Nevertheless, Figure 6 should not be read as a two-dimensional table. Rather, it covers four or even five concepts, coupling pairs of "variables" or dimensions (types of biblical religion; types of biblical economics) with other concepts (premodern/modern city contexts; anti-pluralistic/pluralistic outcomes); and inside the table, a process is described (starting with Field 1, leading to Field 4).

	Behavioral institutional socio-economics and anti-pluralistic outcomes	Non-behavioral institutional economics and pluralistic outcomes
Biblical Economics / Biblical Religion		
Spiritual biblical religion (moral precepts approach-type I) and pre-modern contexts	**2** Behavioral economic, social contract in the early patriarchal tradition (Noah, Abraham, Isaac): spiritual religion economically superior. Context: pre-modern; anti-pluralistic outcomes (Bethel, Beersheba, Hebron)	**3** Emergent, (non-behavioral) institutional economic, social contract in the early patriarchal tradition: land separation (Noah / Lot); water rights (Abraham / Abimelech); hostage taking (God / Isaac); work relationship (Jacob / Laban). Context: pre-modern; emergent pluralistic outcomes (also Zoar, Peniel, Shechem)
Rational biblical religion (moral precepts approach-type II) and modern contexts	**1** The paradise outcome and the collapse of the social contract: failure of behavioral institutional economics, and the foreshadowing of rational religion (also, Cain, Enoch, Ham). Context: emergent modern; anti-pluralistic outcomes (city of Enoch, Babel, Sodom and Gomorrah)	**4** Non-behavioural, institutional economic, social contract in the later patriarchal tradition (Joseph; Jacob in Egypt): rational religion economically superior. Context: modern; pluralistic outcomes (cities of Egypt)

Figure 6. Emergence of rational religion and the modern, pluralistic city in Genesis.

Comparatively stable states are depicted by Fields 2 and 4, while Fields 1 and 3 appear in flux.

The framework reveals a fundamental contest for religion and economics in the biblical text, with the cities of Genesis driving this struggle. The text and how it sets out the patriarchal tradition shifts from spiritual religion and a behavioral socio-economics as a first solution to the institutional problem to a markedly different concept of religion and economics at the end of Genesis. This shift was initiated by the paradise outcomes and the early wicked cities of Enoch, Babel, and Sodom and Gomorrah, where spiritual religion failed to solve the challenges at hand and cities got destroyed (Field 1). Field 2 sees the premodern anti-pluralistic city, spiritual religion and behavioral socio-economic ordering succeed; mirrored by the early patriarchal tradition of Genesis. It is especially Field 2 that connects to conventional understanding of what the ancient city and religion in Antiquity must have been about, as typified at this point by the cities of Bethel, Hebron and Beersheba. They may be comparatively close to St. Augustine's (1958) ideal of the heavenly *City of God*. In Field 3, we find

modernity looming, for example in the land separation problem of Abraham and Lot and the interactions between Abraham and Abimelech over water rights (Wagner-Tsukamoto 2009, 84–85, 95–96). The roots of the commons dilemma show, wherein a group faces the problem of sharing a communal asset (meadow) for grazing livestock that are owned by individual farmers (Hardin 1968; Ostrom 1990). Field 3 then marks a turning point in Genesis, with premodern contexts still prevalent but getting exhausted, while modern pluralistic outcomes are not yet fully achieved. Shechem is the prime example. Still, there is now at least some attempt at constructive solutions rather than exclusively destructive reactions to the different threats that modernity may pose. For Field 4, we see the modern, pluralistic city emerge in the Egyptian context, with rational religion coming into view and non-behavioral institutional economic ordering succeeding, in the later patriarchal tradition of Genesis. This city can clearly reflect a positive image of urbanism too, albeit a different one from the one attributed to Field 2. Nonetheless, suggestions that Genesis only reflected "negative biblical attitudes toward the city" (Roddy 2008, 11) can be questioned from both sides.

Figure 6 then captures a confrontational theater of urbanization processes as to how cities evolved and with them citizenship, religion and the institutionalization of polities. As Breese (1966, 145) noted: "It is in the cities that the political future of a country may well be determined. Here will be found the theater for the working out of the drama of nationhood" (also Parker 2011, 18). In Genesis, we glimpse this theather: The ancient text offers a prime conceptual resource that captures processes of urban development as of the development of capitalism, when the premodern is increasingly contested. Spiritual religion was backgrounded and rational religion advanced; accompanied by changes to economic concept from behavioral socio-economics to non-behavioral institutional economics; and pluralism increasing. The religious culture pattern changed dramatically, as did the economic one, when the cities of Egypt rose. With this onsetting development we see, whether we appreciate this or not, the coming of capitalist economics and what some describe as empire. Here, the paper encourages us to recognize anew religion, economics and the Old Testament text and how they can be differently seen to engage in world-making and sense-making.

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